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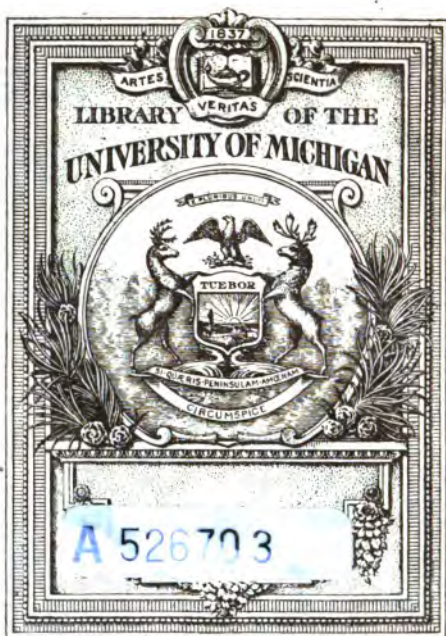
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THE GIFT OF  
J. Herbert Russell

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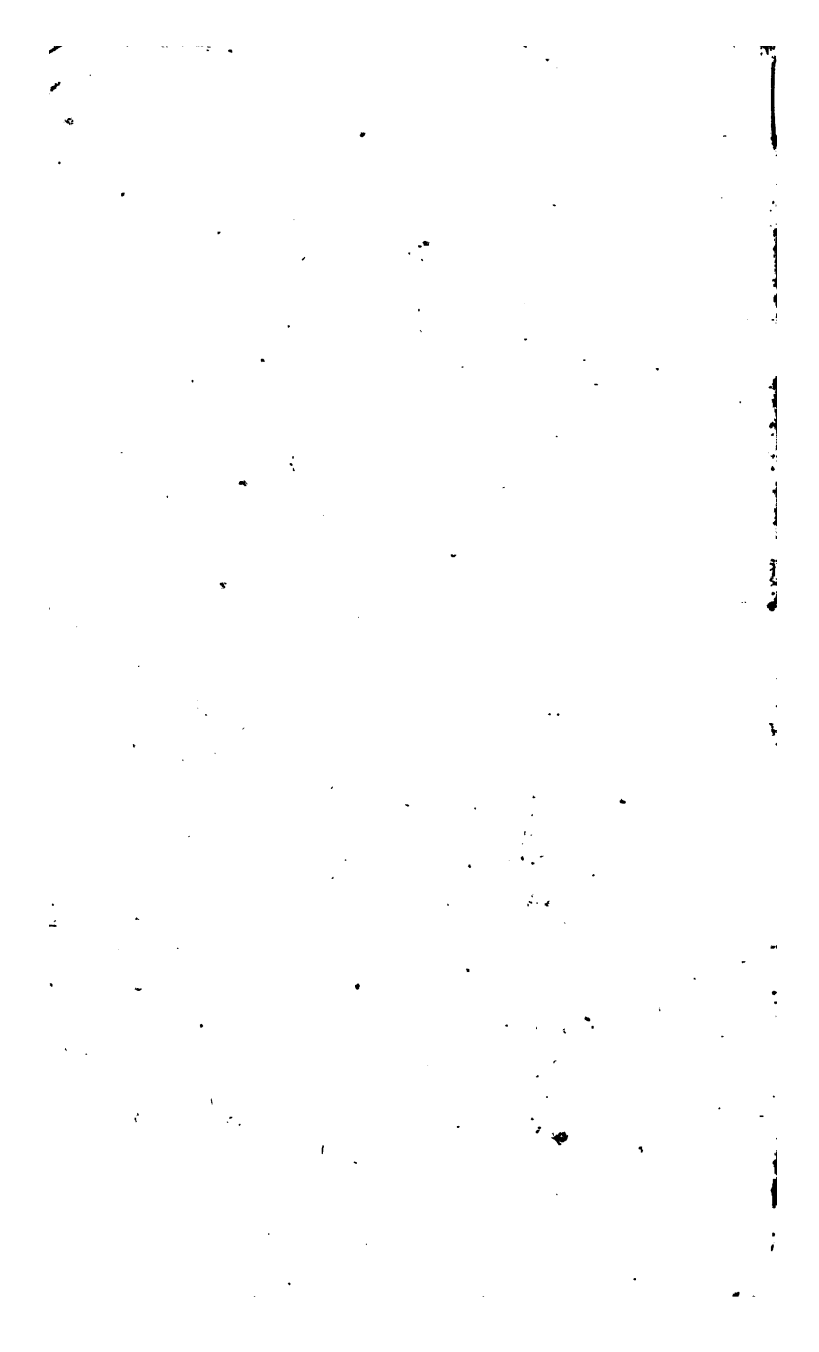
Elizabeth  
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The image shows a document page with a large, dark, irregular shape on the left side, which appears to be a stamp or a large mark. The text is mostly illegible due to the high contrast and the large mark. The visible text includes "1000" at the top left, "1000" at the top right, "1000" in the middle left, "1000" in the middle right, "1000" at the bottom left, and "1000" at the bottom right. The text is arranged in a vertical column on the right side of the page.









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EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE, REPRESENTING THE  
BARON LOADED WITH FETTERS IN PRISON.

Round the neck was a collar of iron of a hand's breadth; to the ring of which the chains and their whole weight were pendent. The chain he was obliged to sustain with one hand day and night, or he would have been in danger of being strangled.

Above the elbows were two irons, to which a chain was fixed behind his back, that passed up to the neck-collar. These, however, were removed a month after they were first put on, when the Baron fell ill.

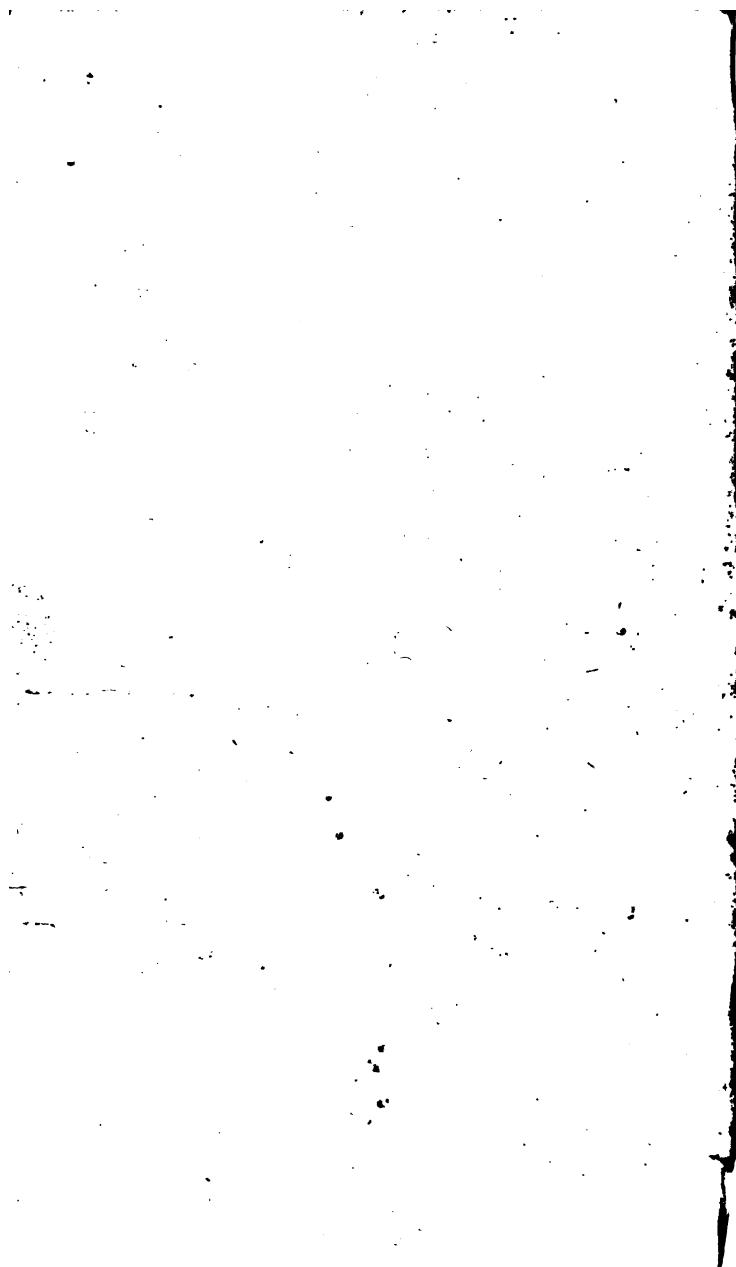
A broad iron rim was rivetted round his body, between which and the bar that separated his hands was another chain.

The bar, two feet in length, was ironed to the handcuffs, so that he could only bring the end of his fingers in contact.

The chains were all fixed to a thick iron staple in the wall.

A triple row of chains descended to the right foot, and the whole weight, the projecting neck-collar acting as a lever, was enormous.

Under the staple was a seat of bricks; on the opposite side a water-jug. Beneath the feet of the Baron was his tomb-stone, with the name *TRENCK* carved, and a death's-head.



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*Eliza*

THE

*Heir*

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OF

*Greenbough*

BARON FREDERIC TRENCK,

I WAS born at Königsberg in Prussia, February 16, 1726, of one of the most ancient families of the country. My father, a knight of the military order, lord of Great Scharlack, Schaculack, and Meicken, and major, general of cavalry, died in 1740, after having received eighteen wounds in the Prussian service. My mother descended from the house of Derfchau, was daughter of the president of the high court at Königsberg. She had two brothers, generals of infantry, and a third, minister of state, and postmaster-general at Berlin. After my father's death, in 1740, she married count Lostange, lieutenant-colonel in the Kiow regiment of cuirassiers, with whom, leaving Prussia, she went and resided at Breslaw. I had two brothers and a sister; my youngest brother was taken by my mother, into Silesia; the other was, also, a cornet in this last named regiment of Kiow; and my sister was married to the only son of the aged general Valdow, who quitted the service, and with whom she lived in Brandenburg on his estates.

My ancestors, both of the male and female line, are famous in the chronicles of the North, among the ancient Teutonic knights, who conquered Courland, Prussia, and Livonia.

By temperament I was choleric, and addicted to pleasure and dissipation, which last defect my tutors found most difficult to overcome. Happily, they were aided by a love of knowledge inherent in me—an

## THE LIFE OF

emulative spirit, and a thirst of fame; which disposition it was my father's care to cherish. A too great consciousness of innate worth, gave me a too great degree of pride, but the endeavours of my instructor to inspire humility, were not all lost; and habitual reading, well timed praise, and the pleasures flowing from science, made the labours of study at length my recreation.

My memory became remarkable: I was well read in the holy scriptures, the classics, and ancient history; was intimately acquainted with geography, could draw accurately, and learnt fencing, riding, and other necessary exercises.

My religion was Lutheran; but morality, and not superstitious bigotry, or childish fears, was taught me by my father, and by the worthy man to whose care he committed the forming of my heart, and whose memory I shall ever hold in veneration. While a boy, I was enterprising in all the tricks of boys, and exercised my wit in crafty excuses. The warmth of my passions, then and afterwards, gave a satyric biting cast to my writings; whence it has been imagined, by those who knew but little of me, I was a dangerous man—though, I am conscious, this was a hasty and false judgment.

A soldier himself, my father would have all his sons the same: thus, when we quarrelled, we were not admitted to terminate our disputes in the common way, but were provided with sabres, sheathed with leather, and, brandishing these, contested, by blows, for victory, while our father sat laughing, pleased at our valour and address: but this, and the praises he bestowed, had the bad effect of encouraging a disposition, which, with passions like mine, ought carefully to have been counteracted.

Covetous of praise, and accustomed to receive the prize, and be the hero of scholastic contentions, I acquired also the bad habit of disputation, and of imagining myself a sage, when little more than a boy. I became stubborn in argument; hasty to correct, instead of patiently listening; and, by my presumption, continually liable to incite enmity.

Gentle to my inferiors, but jealous of contradiction, and the pride of power, I may hence date the origin of

all my evils. The abhorrence, too, I had of arbitrary power, and its abuse, for the silent acquiescence in which my education and book-taught principles ill fitted me, were additional causes.

My father sent me, at the age of thirteen, to the university of Konigsberg, where, under the tuition of Kowalewsky, my progress was rapid. There were fourteen other noblemen of the best families, in the same house, and under the same master.

The year following, that is to say, in 1740, I had a quarrel with one young Wallenrodt, a fellow student, much stronger and taller than myself, and who, thereupon, despising my weakness, thought proper to give me a blow. I demanded satisfaction—He came not to the appointed place, but treated my demand with contempt; and I, forgetting all further respect, found a second, and attacked him in open day. We fought, and I had the fortune to wound him twice; the first time in the arm; the second, in the hand.

This affair incited inquiry. Dr. Kowalewsky, our tutor, laid complaints before the university, and I was condemned to three hours confinement: but my grandfather, and guardian, president Derfchau, with whom I was a great favorite, was so pleased with my courage that he instantly took me from this house, and placed me under professor Christiani.

Here I first began to enjoy full and entire liberty; and, from this worthy man, I learnt all I know of experimental philosophy and science. He loved me as his own son, and sometimes continued instructing me till midnight. Under his auspices, in 1742, I maintained, with great success, two public theses, although I was then but sixteen—an effort and an honor till then unknown.

Three days after my last public exordium, a contemptible fellow, and professional bully, sought a quarrel with me, and, as I may say, obliged me to draw in my own defence, whom, on this occasion, I wounded in the groin.

This continued success highly inflated my valour, and from that time I began to wear a sword of enormous length, and to assume the accoutrements and appearance of a Hector.

Scarcely had a fortnight elapsed, after this last affair, before I had another with a lieutenant of the garrison, one of my friends, whom I had insulted, who received two wounds in the contest.

I ought to remark, that at this time, the university of Königsberg was still highly privileged. To send a challenge was held honorable; and this was not only permitted, but would have been difficult to prevent, considering the great number of proud, hot-headed, and turbulent young nobility from Livonia, Courland, Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, who came thither to study, and of whom there were more than five hundred. This brought the university into disrepute, and the abuse has been endeavoured to be remedied. Men have acquired a greater extent of true knowledge, and have begun to perceive, that a university ought to be a place of instruction, and not a field of battle; and that blood cannot be honorably shed, except in defence of life or country.

In November, 1742, the king sent his adjutant-general, baron Lottum, who was related to my mother, to Königsberg, with whom I dined at my grandfather's. He conversed much with me, and, after various questions, meant to discover what my talents and inclinations were, he demanded, as in joke, whether I had any inclination to go with him to Berlin, and serve my country, as my ancestors had ever done; adding, that in the army, I should find much better opportunities of sending challenges, than at the university. Inflamed with the desire of distinguishing myself, I listened with rapture to the proposition, and in a few days we departed from Potsdam.

On the morrow after my arrival, I was presented to the king, as, indeed, I had before been in the year 1740, with the character of being then one of the most hopeful youths of the university. My reception was most flattering. The justness of my replies, to the questions he put, my height, figure, and confidence, pleased him, and I soon obtained permission to enter as a cadet in his body guards, with a promise of quick preferment.

The body guards formed, at this time, a model and school for the Prussian cavalry. It consisted of one fir-



gle squadron of men selectrd from the whole army, whose uniform was the most splendid in all Europe. Two thousand six dollars were necessary to equip an officer. The cuirass was wholly plated with silver; and the horse, furniture and accoutrements alone, cost four hundred six dollars.

This squadron only consisted of six officers, and a hundred and forty-four men; but there were always fifty or sixty supernumeraries, and as many horses, for the king incorporated all the most handsome men he found, in these guards. The officers were the best taught of any the army contained: the king himself formed them, and afterwards sent them to instruct the cavalry in the manœuvres they had learnt. Their rise was rapid, if they behaved well; but they were broken for the least fault, and punished, by being sent to garrison regiments. It was likewise necessary they should be tolerably rich, as well as possess such talents as might be successfully employed, both at court, and in the army.

There are no soldiers in the world who undergo so much as this body guard; for, during the time I was in the service of Frederic, I often had not eight hours sleep in eight days. Exercise began at four in the morning, and experiments were made of all the alterations the king meant to introduce in his cavalry. Ditches, of four, five, six feet, and still wider, were leaped, till some one broke his neck. Hedges, in like manner, were freed, and the horse ran careers, meeting each other full speed, in a kind of lifts of more than half a league in length. We had often, in these our exercises, several men and horses killed or wounded.

It happened more frequently than otherwise, that the same experiments were repeated after dinner with fresh horses; and it was not uncommon, at Potsdam, to hear the alarm sounded twice in a night. The horses stood in the king's stables; and whoever had not dressed, armed himself, and saddled his horse, mounted, and appeared before the palace, in eight minutes, was put under arrest for fourteen days.

Scarcely were the eyes closed, before the trumpet again sounded, to accustom youth to vigilance, I lost, in one year, three horses, which had either broken their legs, in leaping ditches, or died of fatigue.

I cannot give a stronger picture of this service, than by saying, that the body guard lost more men and horses in one year's peace, than during the following year they did in two battles.

We had, at this time, three stations, our service, during winter, was at Berlin, where we attended the opera, all public festivals; in the spring, we were exercised at Charlottenberg; and at Potsdam, or wherever the king went, during the summer. The six officers of the guard dined with the king, and, on gala days, with the queen. It may be presumed, there was not at that time on earth a better school to form an officer and a man of the world, than was the court of Berlin.

I had scarcely been six weeks a cadet, before the king took me aside one day after the parade and having examined me near half an hour on various subjects, commanded me to come and speak to him on the morrow.

His intention was, to find whether the accounts that had been given him of my memory had not been exaggerated; and, that he might be convinced, he first gave me the names of fifty soldiers to learn by rote, which I did in five minutes. He next repeated the subjects of two letters, which I immediately composed in French and Latin; the one I wrote, the other I dictated. He next ordered me to trace with promptitude, a landscape from nature, which I executed with equal success; and he then gave me a cornet's commission in his body guards,

Each mark of bounty from the monarch, increased an ardor already great—inspired me with gratitude—and the first of my wishes was, to devote my life to the service of my king and country. He spoke to me, as a sovereign should speak, like a father—like one who knew well how to estimate the gifts bestowed on me by nature; and perceiving, or rather feeling, how much he might expect from me, became at once my instructor and my friend.

Thus did I remain a cadet only six weeks; and a few Prussians can vaunt, under the reign of Frederic, of equal good fortune.

The king not only presented me with a commission, but equipped me splendidly for the service. Thus did I suddenly find myself a courtier, and an officer in the finest, bravest, and best taught corps in Europe. My good fortune seemed unlimited, when, in the month of August, 1743, the king selected me to go and instruct the Silesian cavalry in the new manœuvres; an honor never before granted to a youth of eighteen.

I have already said, we were garrisoned at Berlin during winter, where the officers table was at court; and as my reputation had preceded me, no person whatever could be better received there, or live more pleasantly.

Frederic commanded me to visit the literati, whom he had invited to his court. Maupertuis, Jordan, La Metrie and Pollnitz, were all my acquaintance. My days were employed in the duties of an officer, and my nights in acquiring knowledge. Pollnitz was my guide, and the friend of my heart. My happiness was well worthy being envied. In 1743, I was five feet eleven inches in height: Nature had endowed me with every requisite to please, and my mind was wholly occupied by the desire of acquiring well-founded fame.

I had hitherto remained ignorant of love, and had been terrified from illicit commerce, by beholding the dreadful objects of the hospital at Potsdam. During the winter of 1743, the nuptials of his majesty's sister were held, who was married to the king of Sweden, where she is at present queen dowager, mother of the reigning Gustavus. I, as officer of my corps, had the honor to mount guard, and escort her as far as Stettin. Here did my heart first feel a passion, of which, in the course of my history, I shall have frequent occasion to speak. The object of my love was one whom I can only remember at present with reverence; and ours was, mutually, the first fruits of affection. "Amid the tumult inseparable to occasions like these, on which it was my duty to maintain order, a thief had the address to steal my watch, and cut away a part of the gold fringe which hung from the waistcoat of my uniform, and escaped unperceived. This accident brought on me the raillery of my comrades; and the lady alluded to, thence took occasion to console me, by saying, it

should be her care that I should be no looser. Her words were accompanied by a look I could not misunderstand, and a few days afterward I thought myself the happiest of mortals." The name, however, of this high-born lady, is a secret which must descend with me to the grave; and my children alone, on my death bed, shall be taught the name of her to whom they owe the preservation of their father, and, consequently, their own existence.

I lived, at this time, perfectly happy at Berlin, and highly esteemed. The king testified his approbation at every opportunity; my mistress supplied me with more money than I could expend; "and I was presently the best equipped, and made the greatest figure of any officer in the whole corps. The style in which I lived was remarked; for" I had only received from my father's heritage the estate of Great Scharlach; the rent of which was eight hundred dollars a year, which was far from sufficient to supply my then expenses. My amour, in the mean time, remained a secret from my best and most intimate friends.—Twice was my absence from Potsdam and Charlottenberg discovered, and I was put under arrest; but the king seemed satisfied with the excuses I made, under pretext of having been hunting, and smiled as he granted me pardon.

In the beginning of September, 1744, war again broke out between the houses of Austria and Prussia. We marched with all expedition towards Prague, traversing Saxony without opposition.

Frederic, on this occasion, with regret, had recourse to arms, of which I was a witness.

If I am not mistaken, the king's army came before Prague on the fourteenth of September.

The height called Zischka, which overlooks the city, was instantly seized without opposition; and the batteries erected at the foot of that mountain, being ready on the fifth day, played with such success on the old town, with bombs and red hot balls, that it was set on fire.

General Harsch thought proper to capitulate, "after a siege of twelve days, during which, not more than five hundred men of the garrison, at the utmost, were killed and wounded, though" eighteen thousand men were made prisoners.

Thus far we had met with no impediment. The Imperial army, however, under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine, having quitted the banks of the Rhine, was advancing to save Bohemia.

During this campaign we saw the enemy only at a distance; but the Austrian light troops being thrice as numerous as ours, prevented us from foraging. Winter was approaching; dearth and hunger made Frederic determine to retreat, without the least hope from the countries in our rear, which we had entirely laid waste as we had advanced. The severity of the season, in the month of November, rendered the soldiers excessively impatient of their hardships; and accustomed to conquer, the Prussians were ashamed of, and repined at retreat. The enemy's light troops facilitated desertion, and we lost, in a few weeks, above thirty thousand men. The pandours of my kinsman, the Austrian Trenck, were incessantly at our heels; gave us frequent alarms; did us great injury; and, by their alertness, we never could make any impression upon them with our cannon. Trenck at length passed the Elbe, and went and burnt or destroyed our magazines at Pardubitz: it was therefore resolved wholly to evacuate Bohemia.

The king hoped to have brought prince Charles to a battle between Benneschau and Kannapitz; but in vain; the Saxons during the night had erected a battery of three and twenty cannon, on a mound which separated two ponds. This was the precise road by which the king meant to make the attack.

Thus were we obliged to abandon Bohemia. The dearth, both for man and horse, began to grow extreme. The weather was bad; the roads in deep ruts; marches were unceasing; alarms and attacks from the enemies light troops became incessant. The discontent all these inspired was universal, and this occasioned the great loss of the army.

Under such circumstances, had prince Charles continued to harass us, by pursuing us into Silesia; had he made a winter campaign, instead of remaining indolently at ease in Bohemia, we certainly should not have vanquished him the year following at Strigali; but he only followed at a distance, as far as the Bohemian

frontiers. This gave Frederic time to recover, and the more effectually, because the Austrians had the imprudence to permit the return of deserters.

This was a repetition of what had happened to Charles the XII. when he suffered his Russian prisoners to return home, who afterwards so effectually punished his contempt of them, at the battle of Pultawa.

Prague was obliged to be abandoned, with considerable loss; and Trenck seized on Tabor, Budweis, and Frauenberg, where he took prisoners, the regiments of Walrabe and Kreutz.

No one would have been better able to give a faithful history of this campaign than myself, had I room in this place, and had I at that time, been more attentive to things of moment; since I not only performed the office of adjutant to the king, when he went to reconnoitre, or choose a place of encampment, but it was moreover my duty to provide forage for the head-quarters. "The king having only permitted me to take six volunteer guards to execute this latter duty, I was obliged to add to them horse, chasseurs and hussars, with whom I was continually in motion." I was peculiarly fortunate on two occasions, by happening to come after the enemy when they had left loaded waggons and forage bundles.

I seldom passed the night in my tent during this campaign, and my indefatigable activity obtained the favour and entire confidence of Frederic. Nothing so much contributed to inspire me with emulation, as the public praises I received—and my enthusiasm wished to perform wonders. This campaign, however, but ill supplied me with opportunities to display this my youthful ardor.

"At length no one durst leave the camp, notwithstanding the extremity of the dearth, because of the innumerable clouds of pandours and hussars, that hovered every where around."

"No sooner were we arrived in Silesia, than the king's bodyguard was sent to Berlin, there to remain in winter quarters."

"I should not here have mentioned the Bohemian war, but that while writing the history of my life, I

ought not to omit accidents by which my future destiny was influenced.

“ One day at Benraschen I was commanded out with a detachment of thirty hussars and twenty chasseurs, on a foraging party. I had posted my hussars in a convent, and gone myself with the chasseurs to a mansion house, to seize the carts necessary for the conveyance of the hay and straw from a neighbouring farm. An Austrian lieutenant of hussars, concealed with thirty-six horsemen in a wood, having remarked the weakness of my escort—profiting by the moment when my people were all employed in loading the carts, and, having first seized our sentinel, fell suddenly upon them, and took them all prisoners in the very farm yard. At this moment I was seated at my ease beside the lady of the mansion house, and was a spectator of the whole transaction through the window.”

“ Ashamed, and in despair at my negligence, the lady wished to hide me when the firing was heard in the farm yard. By good fortune the hussars whom I had stationed in the convent, had learnt by a peasant, there was an Austrian detachment in the wood. They had seen us at a distance enter the farm yard, hastily marched to our aid, and we had not been taken more than two minutes before they arrived. I cannot express the pleasure with which I put myself at their head.—Some of the enemy's party escaped through a back door; but we made two and twenty prisoners, with a lieutenant of the regiment of Kalnockichen. They had two men killed and one wounded; and two also of my chasseurs were hewed down by the sabre in the hay-loft, where they were at work.”

“ We continued our forage with more caution after this accident. The horses we had taken served in part to draw the carts; and after raising a contribution of one hundred and fifty ducats on the convent, which I distributed among the soldiers to engage them to silence, we returned to the army, from which we were distant about two leagues.”

“ We heard firing as we marched, and the foragers on all sides were battling with the enemy. A lieutenant and forty horse joined me; yet with this reinforcement I durst not return to the camp, because I learnt we were

in danger, from more than eight hundred pandours and hussars who were in the plain. I therefore determined to take a long winding, but secret route, and had the good fortune to come safe to quarters, with my prisoners and five and twenty loaded carts.—The king was at dinner when I entered his tent. Having been absent all night, it was imagined I had been taken—that accident having happened the same day to many others.”

“The instant I entered the king demanded if I returned singly. No, please your majesty, answered I; I have brought five and twenty loads of forage, and two and twenty prisoners, with their officer and horses.”

“The king then commanded me to sit down; and turning himself toward the English ambassador, who was near him, said, laying his hand on my shoulder, *C'est un matador de ma jeunesse\**.”

“In a few minutes he rose from the table, gave a glance at the prisoners, hung the order of merit round my neck, and commanded me to go and repose.”

“As I did not want money, I gave the sergeants twenty ducats each, and the soldiers one, in order to insure their silence, which, being a favourite with them, they readily promised.” I, however, was determined to declare the truth the very first opportunity; and this happened a few days after.

We were on the march, and I, as cornet, was at the head of my company, when the king advancing, beckoned me to come to him, and bade me tell him exactly how the affair I had so lately been engaged in, happened.

The question at first made me distrust I was betrayed; but remarking the king had a mildness in his manner, I presently recovered myself, and related the exact truth. I saw the astonishment of his countenance, but I at the same time saw he was pleased with my sincerity. He spoke to me for half an hour, not as a king, but as a father; praised my candour, and ended with the following words, which, while life remains, I shall never forget: “Confide in the advice I give you; depend wholly upon me, and I will make you a man.”

\* Literally, “He is a matadore of my youth.” The allusion apparently is to the resistless power of the matadore at the game of quadrille.



Whoever can feel, can imagine how infinitely my gratitude towards the king was increased, by this great goodness. From that moment I had no other desire than to live and die for his service.

I soon perceived the confidence the king had in me after this explanation, of which I received very frequent marks the following winter at Berlin. He permitted me to be present at his conversations with the literati of his court, and my state was truly enviable.

I received, this same winter more than five hundred ducats as presents. So much happiness could not but excite jealousy, and this began to be manifest on every side. I had too little disguise for a courtier, and my heart was much too open and frank.

Before I proceed I will here relate an incident of the last campaign, which will, no doubt, be read in the history of Frederic.

During the retreat from Bohemia, the king came to Kollin with his horse guards, the cavalry piquets of the head quarters, and the second and third battalions of guards. We had only four field-pieces, and our squadron was stationed in one of the suburbs. Our advanced posts towards evening were driven back into the town, and the hussars entered pell mell. The enemy's light troops swarmed over the country, and my commanding officer sent me immediately to receive the king's orders. After much search, I found him at the top of a steeple, with a telescope in his hand. Never did I see him so disturbed or undecided, as on this occasion. Orders were immediately given, that we should retreat through the city into the opposite suburb, where we were to halt, but not unsaddle.

We had not been here long before a most heavy rain fell, and the night became exceedingly dark. My cousin Trenck made his appearance about nine in the evening with his pandour and janissary music, and set fire to several houses. They found we were in the suburb, and began to fire upon us from the city windows. The tumult became extreme; the city was too full for us to re-enter: the gate was shut, and they from above fired at us with our field pieces. Trenck had let in the water upon us, and we were up to the girths by midnight, and almost in despair. We lost seven men, and my horse was wounded in the neck.

The king and all of us had certainly been made prisoners had my cousin as he had since told me, been able to continue the assault he had begun; but a cannon ball, having wounded him in the foot, he was carried off, and the pandours retired. The corps of Nassau arrived next day to our aid. We quitted Kollin; and during the march the king said to me, "Your cousin had nearly played us a malicious prank last night, but the deserters say he is killed." He then asked me what our relationship was—and there our conversation ended.

It was about the middle of December when he came to Berlin, where I was received with open arms. I became less cautious than formerly, and perhaps was more narrowly observed. A lieutenant of the foot guards, who was a public ganyemede, and against whom I had that natural antipathy and abhorrence I have for all such wretches, having indulged himself in some very impertinent jokes on the secret of my amour, I bestowed on him the epithet he deserved: we drew our swords and he was wounded. On the Sunday following, I presented myself to pay my respects to his majesty on the parade, who said to me as he passed, "The thunder begins to roll, and the bolt may fall—Beware." He added nothing more.

Some little time after I was a few minutes too late on the parade: the king remarked it, and sent me under arrest to the foot guard at Potsdam. When I had been here a fortnight, colonel Wartensleben came and advised me to petition for pardon. I was then too much a novice in the modes of the court to follow his counsel; nor did I even remark the person who gave it me was himself a most subtle courtier. I complained bitterly that I had so long been deprived of liberty, for a fault which was usually punished by three, or at the most, six days arrest. Here accordingly I remained.

Eight days after the king being come to Potsdam, I was sent by general Bourke to Berlin to carry some letters, but without having seen the king. On my return I presented myself to him on the parade; and, as our squadron was garrisoned at Berlin, I asked, "Does it please your majesty that I should go and join my corps?"—"Whence come you?" answered he. "From Berlin." "And where were you before you

went to Berlin?" "Under arrest." "Then under arrest you must remain."

I did not recover my liberty till three days before our departure for Silesia, towards which we marched with the utmost speed, in the beginning of May, to commence our second campaign.

Here I must recount an event which happened that winter. Francis baron Trenck was the son of my father's brother, consequently, my cousin german. Being a commander of pandours in the Austrian service, and grievously wounded in Bavaria, in the year 1743, he wrote to my mother, informing her he intended me, her eldest son, for his universal legatee. This letter, to which I returned no answer, was sent me to Potsdam. I was so satisfied with my situation, and had such numerous reasons so to be, considering the kindness with which the king treated me, that I would not have exchanged my good fortune for all the treasures of the Great Mogul.

On the 12th of February, 1744, being at Berlin, I was in company with captain Jaschinsky, commander of the body guard, the captain of which ranks as colonel in the army, together with lieutenant Studnitz and cornet Wagnitz. The latter was my field comrade, and is at this present commander-general of the cavalry of Hesse Cassel. The Austrian Trenck became the subject of conversation, and Jaschinsky asked if I was his kinsman. I answered yes, and immediately mentioned his having made me his universal heir.—"And what answer have you returned?" said Jaschinsky. "None at all."

The whole company then observed, that in a case like the present, I was much to blame not to answer; that the least I could do, would be to thank him for his good wishes, and entreat a continuance of them. Jaschinsky further added, "Desire him to send you some of his fine Hungarian horses for your own use, and give me the letter; I will convey it to him, by means of Mr. Boffart, legation counsellor of the Saxon embassy; but on condition that you will give me one of the horses. This correspondence is a family, and not a state affair: beside that, I will be answerable for the consequences."

I immediately took my commander's advice, and began to write; and had those who suspected me, thought proper to make the least enquiry into these circumstances, the four witnesses who read what I wrote, could have attested my innocence, and rendered it indubitable. I gave my letter open to Jaschinsky, who sealed and sent it himself.

One of my grooms with two led horses was among many others taken by the pandours of Trenck. When I returned to the camp, I was to accompany the king on a reconnoitring party. My horse was too tired, and I had no other. I informed him of my embarrassment, and his majesty immediately made me a present of a fine English courser.

Some days after I was exceedingly astonished to see my groom return with my two horses and a pandour trumpeter, who brought me a letter containing nearly the following words:

"The Austrian, Trenck is not at war with the Prussian Trenck, but, on the contrary, is happy to have recovered the horses from the hussars, and return them to whom they first belonged, &c."

I went the same day to pay my respects to the king, who receiving me with great coolness, said, "Since your cousin has returned your own horses, you have no more need of mine."

There were too many who envied me, to suppose these words would escape repetition. The return of the horses seems infinitely to have increased that suspicion Frederic entertained against me.

We marched for Silesia, to enter on our second campaign, which to the Prussians was as bloody and murderous as it was glorious.

The king's head quarters were fixed at the convent at Kanenz, where we rested fourteen days, and the army remained in cantonments. Prince Charles instead of following us into Bohemia, had the imprudence to occupy the plain of Strigau, and we already concluded his army was beaten.

The army hastily left its cantonments, and in twenty-four hours was in order of battle; and on the 14th of June eighteen thousand bodies lay stretched on the plain of Strigau.—The allied armies of Austria and Saxony were totally defeated.

The body guard was on the right ; and before the attack the king said to our squadron, " Prove, to-day, my children, that you are my body guard, and give no Saxon quarter."

We made three attacks on the cavalry, and two on the infantry: Nothing could withstand a squadron like this, which for men, horses, courage and experience, was assuredly the first in the world. Our corps alone took seven standards and five pair of colours, and in less than an hour the affair was over.

I received a pistol shot in my right hand : my horse was desperately wounded, and I was obliged to change on the third charge. The day after the battle all the officers were rewarded with the order of merit. For my own part, I remained four weeks among the wounded at Schweidnitz, where there were sixteen thousand men under the torture of the army surgeons, many of whom had not their wounds dressed till the third day.

It was near three months before I recovered the use of my hand : I nevertheless rejoined my corps ; continued to perform my duty ; and, as usual, accompanied the king when he went to reconnoitre. For some time past he had placed confidence in me, and his kindness towards me continually increased, which raised my gratitude even to enthusiasm.

I must here mention an adventure that happened at this time, and which will show the art of the great Frederic, in forming youth for his service, and devotedly attaching them to his person.

I was exceedingly fond of hunting, in which, notwithstanding it was severely forbidden, I indulged myself. Laden with pheasants I one day returned : but judge my astonishment and fears, when I saw the army had decamped, and that it was with difficulty I could overtake the rear guard.

In this my distress I applied to an officer of hussars, who instantly lent me his horse, by the aid of which I rejoined my corps, which always marched as the vanguard. Mounting my own horse, I tremblingly rode to the head of my division, which it was my duty to precede. The king however had remarked my absence, or rather had been reminded of it by my superior officer, who for some time past had become my enemy.

Just as the army halted to encamp, the king rode towards me, made a signal for me to approach, and reading my fears in my countenance, said with a smile, "What, are you just returned from hunting?" "Yes, your majesty—I hope"—Here interrupting me, he added, "Well, well for this time I shall take no further notice, remembering Potsdam: but, however, let me find you more attentive to your duty."

I shall remark, the king took no more notice of my late fault, except that, sometimes when I had the honour to dine with him, he would ridicule people who were too often at the chase, or who were so choleric, that they took occasion to quarrel for the least trifle.

If I mistake not; the famous battle of Soor, or Sorau, was fought on the 14th of September.—The king had sent so many detachments into Saxony, Bohemia, and Silesia, that the main army did not consist of more than twenty-six thousand men. Neglecting advice, and obstinate in judging his enemy by numbers, and not according to the excellence of discipline, and other accidents, prince Charles, blind to the real strength of the Prussian armies, had enclosed this small number of Pomeranian and Brandenburg regiments, with more than eighty-six thousand men, intending to take them all prisoners.

The king came into my tent about midnight, as he also did into that of all the officers, to awaken them. His orders were, secretly to saddle, leave the baggage in the rear, and that the men should stand ready to mount at the word of command.

Lieutenant Studnitz and myself attended the king, who went in person, and gave directions through the whole army: mean time break of day was expected with anxiety.

Opposite the defile, through which the enemy were to march to the attack, eight field pieces were concealed behind a hill. The king must necessarily have been informed of the whole plan of the Austrian general; for he had called in the advanced posts from the heights, that he might lull him into security, and make him imagine we should be surprised in the midst of sleep.

Scarcely did break of day appear before the Austrian artillery, situated upon the heights, began to play upon our camp, and their cavalry to march through the defile to the attack.

As suddenly were we in battle array; for in less than ten minutes, we ourselves began the attack, notwithstanding our small number, the whole army only containing five regiments of cavalry, and fell with such fury upon the enemy, who at this time were wholly employed in forming their men at the mouth of the defile, and that slowly, little expecting so sudden and violent a charge, that we drove them back into the defile, where they pressed upon each other in crowds: the king himself stood ready to unmask his eight field pieces, and a dreadful slaughter ensued in this narrow place, from which the enemy had not the power to retreat. — This single incident gained the battle, and deceived all the hopes of prince Charles.

Nadasti, Trenck, and the light troops, sent to attack our rear, were employed in pillaging the camp. The ferocious Croats met with no opposition, while this their error made our victory more secure. It deserves to be noticed, when advice was brought to the king, that the enemy had fallen upon, and were plundering the camp, his answer was, "So much the better; they have found themselves employment, and will be no impediment to our main design."

Our victory was complete, but all our baggage was lost; the head-quarters, utterly undefended, were totally stripped; and Trenck had for his part of the booty, the king's tent, and his service of plate.

A few days after the battle of Sorau, the usual camp post-man brought me a letter from my cousin Trenck, the colonel of the pandours, dated at Essk, four months back, of which the following is a copy:

"Your letter of the 12th of February from Berlin, informs me you desire to have some Hungarian horses. On these you would come and attack me and my pandours. I saw, with pleasure, during the last campaign, that the Prussian Trenck was also a good soldier; and that I might give you some proofs of my attachment, I then returned the horses which my men had taken. If, however, you wish to have Hungarian horses, you

must take mine, in like manner, from me, in the field of battle; or, should you so think fit, come and join one who will receive you with open arms, like his friend and son, and who will procure you every advantage you can desire, &c.

At first I was terrified at reading this letter, yet could not help smiling. Cornet Wagenitz, now general in chief of the Hesse Cassel forces, and lieutenant Grotthausen, both now alive, and then present, were my camp comrades. I gave them the letter to read, and they laughed at its contents. It was determined to show it to our superior officer Jaschinsky, on a promise of secrecy, and it was accordingly shewn him within an hour after it was received.

The reader will be so kind as to recollect, that, as I have before said, it was this colonel Jaschinsky who, on the 12th of February the same year at Berlin, prevailed on me to write to the Austrian Trenck my cousin; that he received the letter open, and undertook to send it according to its address; also that, in this letter, I, in jest, had asked him to send me some Hungarian horses, and when they came, had promised one to Jaschinsky. He read the letter with an air of some surprise; we laughed; and it being whispered through the army, that in consequence of our late victory, detached corps would be sent into Hungary, Jaschinsky said, "We shall now go and take Hungarian horses for ourselves." Here the conversation ended, and I returned, little suspecting future consequences to my tent.

The day after the receipt of this letter, I was unheard, unaccused, unjudged, conducted like a criminal from the army by fifty hussars, and imprisoned in the fortress of Glatz. I was allowed to take three horses, and my servants, but my whole equipage was left behind, which I never saw more, and which became the booty of Jaschinsky. My commission was given to cornet Schatzel, and I cashiered without knowing why. There were no legal enquiries made—all was done by the king's command.

Unhappy people! where power is superior to law, and where the innocent and virtuous meet punishment instead of reward. Unhappy land! where the omnipotent, SUCH IS OUR WILL, supercedes all legal sentence,



and robs the subject of property, life and honor. I was not however thrown into a dungeon, but imprisoned in a chamber of the officer of the guard—was allowed my servant to wait on me, and permitted to walk on the ramparts.

I did not want money; and there was only a detachment from the garrison regiment in the citadel of Glatz, the officers of which were all poor. I soon had both friends and freedom, and the rich prisoner every day kept open table.

I wrote submissively to the king, requesting to be tried by a court-martial, and not desiring any favour, should I be found guilty. This haughty tone in a youth was displeasing, and I received no answer, which threw me into despair, and induced me to use every possible means to obtain my liberty.

My first care was to establish by the intervention of an officer, a certain correspondence with the object of my heart. She answered she was far from supposing I had ever entertained the least thought traitorous to my country; that she knew too well I was perfectly incapable of dissimulation. She blamed the precipitate anger and unjust suspicions of the king; promised me speedy aid, and sent me a thousand ducats.

Five months passed away in prison. Peace was concluded: the king was returned to his capital: my commission in the guards was bestowed on another; when lieutenant Pfischky of the regiment of Fouquet, and ensign Reitz, who often mounted guard over me, proposed that they and I should escape together. I yielded, our plan was fixed, and every preparatory step taken.

At that time there was another prisoner at Glatz, whose name was Manget, by birth a Swiss, and captain of cavalry in the Natzmerschen hussars; he had been broken, and condemned by a court-martial to ten years imprisonment, with an allowance of only four rix dollars per month.

Having done this man kindnesses, I was resolved to rescue him also from bondage at the same time with myself. I communicated my design and made the proposal, which was accepted by him, and measures were

taken; yet were we betrayed by this vile man, who thus obtained pardon and freedom.

Piaschky, who had been informed that Reitz was arrested, saved himself by deserting. I denied the fact in the presence of Manget, with whom I was confronted, and bribed the auditor with a hundred ducats. By this means Reitz only suffered a year's imprisonment and the loss of his commission. I was then closely confined in a chamber, for having endeavoured to corrupt the king's officers, and was guarded with greater caution.

Here I will relate an adventure which happened between me and this captain Manget three years afterwards at Warsaw.

I there met him by chance; and it is not difficult to imagine what was the salutation he received. I caned him: he took this ill, and challenged me to fight with pistols. Captain Haucking of the Polish guards was my second. I shot him through the neck at the first shot, and he fell dead on the field.

I return to my tale.—My window looked toward the city, and was ninety feet from the ground in the tower of the citadel, out of which I could not get, without having found a place of refuge in the city.

This an officer undertook to procure me, and prevailed on an honest soap-boiler to grant me a hiding place. I then notched my penknife and sawed through three large iron bars; but this was too tiresome a mode it being necessary to file away eight bars from my window, before I could pass through; another officer procured me a file, which I was obliged to use with caution, lest I should be over-heard by the sentinels.

Having ended this labour, I cut my leather portmantau into thongs, sewed them end to end, added the sheets of my bed, and descended safely from this astonishing height.

It rained, the night was dark, and all seemed fortunate but I had to wade through moats full of mud, before I could enter the city, a circumstance I had never once considered. I sunk up to the knees, and after long struggling and incredible efforts to get out, I was obliged myself to call the sentinel, and desire him to go and tell the governor, Trenck was stuck fast in the ditch.

My misfortune was the greater on this occasion, because that general Fouquet was then governor of Glatz. He was one of the cruelest of men. He had been wounded by my father in a duel; and the Austrian Trenck had taken his baggage in 1744, and also laid the country of Glatz under contribution. He was therefore an enemy to the very name of Trenck; nor did he lose any opportunity of giving me proofs of his enmity, and especially on the present occasion, when he left me standing in the mud till noon, the sport of the soldiers. I was then drawn out half dead, only again to be imprisoned, and shut up the whole day without water to wash me. No one can imagine how I looked; exhausted and dirty, my long hair having fallen into the mud, with which, by my struggling, it was loaded. I remained in this condition till the next day, when two fellow-prisoners were sent to assist and clean me.

My imprisonment now became more intolerable. I had still eighty louis-d'ors in my purse, which had not been taken from me at my removal into another dungeon, and these afterward did me good service.

Eight days had not elapsed since my last fruitless attempt to escape, when an event happened which would appear incredible were I the principal actor in the scene, not alive to attest its truth, and might not all Glatz and the Prussian army be produced as eye and ear witnesses.

Major Doo\* came to visit me, accompanied by an officer of the guard and an adjutant. After examining

\* *The same Doo who was governor of Glatz during the seven years war, and who, having been surprised by general Laudohn, was made prisoner, which occasioned the loss of Glatz. The king broke him with infamy, and banished him with contempt. In 1764 he came to Vienna, where I gave him alms. He was by birth an Italian—a selfish, wicked man; and while major under the government of Fouquet at Glatz, brought many people to misery. He was the creature of Fouquet, without birth or merit—crafty, malignant, but handsome; and having debauched his patron's daughter, afterwards married her; whence at first his good, and at length his ill fortune. He wanted knowledge to defend a fortress against the enemy, and his covetousness rendered him easy to corrupt.*

every corner of my chamber, he addressed me, taxing me with a second crime, in endeavouring to obtain my liberty; adding, this must certainly encrease the anger of the king.

My blood boiled at the word crime. He talked of patience. I asked how long the king had condemned me to imprisonment. He answered, a traitor to his country who had corresponded with the enemy, cannot be condemned for a certain time; but must depend for grace and pardon on the king.

At that instant I snatched his sword from his side, on which my eyes had some time been fixed, sprang out of the door, threw the sentinel from the top to the bottom of the stairs, passed the guard who happened to be drawn up before the prison door to relieve guard, attacked them sword in hand, threw them suddenly into surprise by the manner in which I laid about me, wounded four men, made my way through the rest, sprang over the breast-work of the ramparts, and, with my sword drawn in my hand, immediately leaped this astonishing height without receiving the least injury. I leaped the second wall with equal safety and good fortune. None of their arms were loaded; no one durst leap after me; in order to pursue they must go round through the town and the gate of the citadel; so that I had the start full half an hour.

A sentinel, however, in a narrow passage endeavoured to oppose my flight; but I parried his fixed bayonet, and wounded him in the face. A second sentinel in the mean time, came from the out-works to seize me behind, and I, to avoid him, made a spring at the palisadoes; there I was unluckily caught by the foot, and received a bayonet wound in my upper lip. Thus entangled, they beat me with the butt-end of their muskets, and dragged me back to prison.

The severities of my imprisonment were increased. Two sentinels and an under officer were locked in with me, and were, themselves, guarded by sentinels without. I was beaten and wounded with the butt-end of their muskets; my right foot was sprained; I spit blood; and my wounds were not cured in less than a month.

I was now first informed the king had only condemned me to a year's imprisonment, in order to learn whether his suspicions were well founded.—My mother had petitioned for me, and was answered, Your son must remain a year imprisoned, as a punishment for his rash correspondence.

Of this I was ignorant; and it was said in Glatz my imprisonment was for life. I had only three weeks longer to repine at the loss of liberty, when I made this rash attempt.

Once more then was I in a dungeon, and no sooner was I there, than I formed new projects of flight: I first gained the intimacy of my guards. I had money, and this, with the compassion I had inspired, might effect any thing among discontented Prussian soldiers. Soon had I gained thirty-two men, who were ready to execute on the first signal, whatever I should command; two or three excepted, they were unacquainted with each other; they, consequently, could not all be betrayed at a time; and I had chosen the under officer Nicholai to head them.

The garrison consisted only of one hundred and twenty men, from the garrison regiment; the rest being dispersed in the country of Glatz, and four officers their commanders, three of whom were in my interest. Every thing was prepared. Swords and pistols were concealed in an oven which was in my prison. We intended to give liberty to all the prisoners, and retire by beat of drum into Bohemia.

Unfortunately an Austrian deserter to whom Nicholia had imparted our design, went and discovered our conspiracy. The governor instantly sent his adjutant to the citadel, with orders that the officer on guard should arrest Nicholai, and with his men take possession of the casement.

Nicholai was one of the guard, and the lieutenant was my friend, and being in the secret, gave the signal that all was discovered. Nicholai only knew all the conspirators, several of whom were that day on guard. He instantly formed his resolution, leaped into the casements crying, "Comrades, to arms! we are betrayed!" All followed to the guard-house, where they seized on the cartridges, the officer having only eight men,

and threatening to fire on whoever would offer resistance, came to deliver me from prison; but the iron door was too strong, and the time too short for that to be demolished. Nicholia calling to me, bid me aid them, but in vain; and perceiving nothing more could be done for me, this brave man, heading nineteen others, marched to the gate of the citadel where there was an under officer and ten soldiers, obliged these to accompany him, and thus arrived safely at Braunau in Bohemia; for before the news was spread through the city and men were collected for the pursuit, they were nearly half way on their journey.

Two years after I met with this extraordinary man at Offenbourg, where he was a writer. He entered immediately into my service, and became my friend, but died some months after of a burning fever, at my quarters in Hungary, at which I was deeply grieved, for his memory will ever be dear to me.

Now was I exposed to all the storms of ill fortune. A prosecution was entered against me as a conspirator, who wanted to corrupt the officers and soldiers of the king. They commanded me to name the remaining conspirators: but to these questions I made no answer, except by stedfastly declaring I was an innocent prisoner, an officer unjustly broken; unjustly, because I had never been brought to trial; that consequently I was released from all my engagements; nor could it be thought extraordinary that I should avail myself of that law of nature, which gives every man a right to defend his honor defamed, and seek by every possible means to regain his liberty: that such had been my sole purpose in every enterprise I had formed, and such should still continue to be, for I was determined on the pursuit, till I should either be crowned with success, or lose my life in the attempt.

Things thus remained; every precaution was taken, except that I was not put in irons; it being a law in Prussia, that no gentleman or officer can be loaded with chains, unless he has first for some crime been delivered over to the executioner, and certainly this had not been my case.

The soldiers were withdrawn from my chamber; but the greatest ill was, I had expended all my money,

and my kind mistress at Berlin, with whom I had always corresponded, and which my persecutors could not prevent, at last wrote—

“My tears flow with yours; the evil is without remedy—I dare say no more—escape if you can. My fidelity will ever be the same, when it shall be possible for me to serve you—Adieu—unhappy friend! you merit a better fate.”

This letter was a thunderbolt.—My comfort, however, still was, that the officers were not suspected, and that it was their duty to visit my chamber several times a day and examine what passed; from which circumstance I felt my hopes somewhat revive. Hence an adventure happened, which is almost unexampled in tales of knight-errantry.

A lieutenant whose name was Bach, a Dane by nation, mounted guard every fourth day, and was the terror of the whole garrison; for being a perfect master of arms, he was incessantly involved in quarrels, and generally left his marks behind him. He had served in two regiments, neither of which would associate with him for this reason, and he had been sent to the garrison regiment at Glatz as a punishment.

Bach one day sitting beside me, related how the evening before he had wounded a lieutenant of the name of Schell in the arm. I replied, laughing, had I my liberty I believe you would find some trouble in wounding me, for I have some skill in the sword. The blood instantly flew in his face; we split off a kind of pair of foils from an old door, which had served me as a table, and at the first lunge I hit him on the breast.

His rage became ungovernable, and he left the prison. What was my astonishment, when a moment after I saw him return with two soldier's swords, which he had concealed under his coat.—“Now, then, boaster, prove,” said he, giving me one of them, “what thou art able to do.”—I endeavoured to pacify him, by representing the danger, but ineffectually. He attacked me with the utmost fury, and I wounded him in the arm.

Throwing his sword down, he now fell upon my neck, kissed me, and wept. At length, after some convulsive emotions of pleasure, he said, “Friend, thou

art my master ; and thou must, thou shalt, by my aid, obtain thy liberty, as certainly as my name is Bach." We bound up his arms as well as we could. He left me and secretly went to a surgeon to have it properly dressed, and at night returned.

He now remarked that it was humanly impossible I should escape unless the officer on guard should desert with me ; that he wished nothing more ardently, than to sacrifice his life in my behalf ; but that he could not resolve so far to forget his honor and duty to desert himself while on guard. He notwithstanding gave me his word and honor he would find me such a person, in a few days ; and that, in the mean time, he would prepare every thing for my flight.

He returned the same evening, bringing with him lieutenant Schell, and as he entered, said, " Here is your man." Schell embraced me, gave me his word of honor, and thus was the affair settled, and, as it proved, my liberty ascertained.

We now began to deliberate on the means necessary to obtain our purpose. Schell was just come from garri-son at Habelschwert, to the citadel of Glatz, and in two days was to mount guard over me, till when our attempt was suspended.—My purse at present only contained some six pistoles : it was therefore resolved, that Bach should go to Schweidnitz, and obtain money of a sure friend of mine in that city.

Here must I inform the reader, that at this time the officers and I all understood each other, captain Roder alone excepted, who was exact, rigid, and gave trouble on all occasions.

Major Quaadt was my kinsman, by my mother's side ; a good, friendly man, and ardently desirous I should escape, seeing my calamities were now so much increased. The four lieutenants who successively mounted guard over me, were Bach, Schroeder, Lunitz, and Schell. The first was the grand projector, and made all the preparations ; Schell was to desert with me ; and Schroeder and Lunitz three days after were to follow.

The talents of Schell were of a superior order ; he spoke and wrote six languages, and was well acquainted with all the fine arts. He had served in the regi-



ment of Fouquet; had been injured by his colonel, who was a Pomeranian, and Fouquet, who was no friend to well-informed officers, had sent him to a garrison regiment. He had twice demanded his dismissal, but the king sent him to this species of imprisonment. He then determined to avenge himself by deserting, and was ready to aid me in recovering my freedom, that he might thereby spite Fouquet.

We determined every thing should be prepared against the first time Schell mounted guard, and that our project should be executed on the next.

Thus, as he mounted guard every four days, the eighth was to be that of our flight.

The governor, mean time, had been informed how familiar I was become with the officers; at which, taking offence, he sent orders that my door should no more be opened, but that I should receive my food thro' a small window that had been made for that purpose. The care of the prison was committed to the major, and he was forbidden to eat with me, under the pain of being broken.

His precautions were ineffectual; the officers procured a false key, and remained with me half the day and night.

Beside my prison was that of captain Dannitz. This man had deserted from the Prussian service, with the men belonging to his company to Austria, where he obtained a commission in his cousin's regiment, who having prevailed on him to serve as a spy during the campaign of 1744, he was taken in the Russian territories, known, and condemned to be hanged.

Some Swedish volunteers who were then in the army, interested themselves in his behalf, and his sentence was changed to perpetual imprisonment, with a sentence of infamy.

This wretch, who two years after by his protectors, not only obtained his liberty, but a lieutenant colonel's commission, was then the secret spy of the major over the prisoners; and he remarked, that notwithstanding the express prohibition laid on the officers, they still passed the greater part of their time in my company.

The 24th of December came, and Schell mounted guard. He entered my prison immediately, where he

continued a long time, and we made our arrangements for flight when he next should mount guard.

Lieutenant Schroeder that day dined with the governor, and heard orders given to the adjutant, that Schell should be taken from the guard and put under arrest.

Schroeder, who was in the secret, had no doubt but that we were betrayed, not knowing that the spy Damnitz had informed the governor that Schell was then in my chamber.

Schroeder, full of terror, came running to the citadel, and said to Schell, "Save thyself, friend; all is discovered, and thou wilt instantly be put under arrest."

Schell might easily have provided for his own safety by flying singly, Schroeder having prepared horses, on one of which he himself offered to accompany him into Bohemia.

How did this worthy man in a moment so dangerous act towards his friend?

Running suddenly into my prison, he drew a corporal's sabre from under his coat, and said,—"Friend, we are betrayed—follow me, only do not suffer me to fall alive into the hands of my enemies."

I would have spoken; but interrupting me, and taking me by the hand, he added, "Follow me—we have not a moment to lose." I therefore slipped on my coat and boots, without having time to take the little money I had left; and as we went out of the prison Schell said to the sentinel, "I am taking the prisoner into the officer's apartment; stand where you are."

Into this room we really went, but passed out at the other door. The design of Schell was, to go under the arsefial which was not far off, to gain the covered way, leap the palisadoes, and afterwards escape the best we might.

We had scarcely gone a hundred paces before we met the adjutant and major Quaadt.

Schell started back, sprang upon the rampart, and leaped from the wall that was there not very high. I followed, and lighted unhurt, except having grazed my shoulder. My poor friend was not so fortunate, having put out his ankle. He immediately drew his sword, presented it to me, and begged me to dispatch

him and fly. He was a small weak man; but, far from complying with his request, I took him in my arms, threw him over the palisadoes, afterwards got him on my back, and began to run, without very well knowing which way I went.

The sun had just set as we took to flight; the hoar frost fell. No one would run the same risk we had done, by making so dangerous a leap. We heard a terrible noise behind us. Every body knew us; but before they could go round the citadel, and through the town, in order to pursue us, we had got a full half league.

The alarm guns were fired before we were a hundred paces distant; at which my friend was very much terrified, knowing that in such cases it was generally impossible to escape from Glatz, unless the fugitives had got the start full two hours before the alarm guns were fired; the passes being immediately all stopped by the peasants and hussars, who are exceedingly vigilant. No sooner is a prisoner missed, than the gunner runs from the guard-house, and fires the cannon on the three sides of the fortress, which are kept loaded day and night for that purpose.

We were not five hundred paces from the wall, when all before us and behind us were in motion.

Among the officers commanded to pursue us was lieutenant Bart my intimate friend. Captain Zerbst of the regiment of Fouquet, who had always testified the kindness of a brother towards me, met us on the Bohemian frontiers, and called to me.—Make to the left brother, and you will see some lone houses, which are on the Bohemian confines; the hussars have rode straight forward.—He then passed on as if he had not seen us.

We distinctly heard the alarm sounded in the villages; and the peasants, who likewise were to form the line of desertion, were every where in motion and spreading the alarm. As it may not be known to all my readers in what manner they proceed on these occasions in Prussia, I will here give a short account of it.

Officers are daily named on the parade, whose duty it is to follow fugitives, as soon as the alarm guns are fired.

The peasants in the villages likewise are daily appointed to run to the guard of certain posts. The officers immediately fly to these posts, to see that the peasants do their duty, and prevent the prisoner's escape. Thus does it seldom happen that a soldier can effect his escape, unless he be at the very least, an hour on the road before the alarm guns are fired.

I came to the Neiss, which was a little frozen, entered it with my friend, carried him as long as I could wade, and when I could not feel the bottom which was not for more than eighteen feet, he clung round me, and thus we got safely to the other shore.

My father taught all his sons to swim, for which I have often had to thank him, since by means of this art, which is easily learnt in childhood, I had on various occasions preserved my life, and was more bold in danger.

The reader will easily suppose swimming in the midst of December, and remaining afterwards eighteen hours in the open air was a severe hardship. About seven o'clock the hoar fog was succeeded by frost and moonlight. The carrying of my friend kept me warm, it is true; but I began to be tired, while he suffered every thing that frost the pain of a dislocated foot, which I in vain endeavoured to reset, and the danger of death, from a thousand hands could inflict.

We were somewhat more tranquil, however, having reached the opposite shore of the Neiss, since no body would pursue us on the road to Silesia. I followed the course of the river for half an hour; and having once passed the first villages that formed the line of desertion, with which Schell was perfectly acquainted, we in a lucky moment found a fisherman's boat moored to the shore: into this we leaped, crossed the river again, and soon gained the mountains.

Here being come, we sat ourselves down awhile on the snow; hope revived in our hearts, and we held council concerning how it was best to act. I cut a stick to assist Schell in hopping forward as well as he could, when I was tired of carrying him; and thus we continued our route, the difficulties of which were increased by the mountain snows.

Thus passed the night, during which, up to the middle in snow, we made but little way. There were no paths to be traced in the mountains; and they were in many places impassible. Day at length appeared. We thought ourselves near the frontiers, which are twenty english miles from Glatz, when we suddenly, to our great terror, heard the clock strike.

Overwhelmed as we were by hunger, cold, fatigue and pain, it was impossible we should hold out through the day. After some consideration, and another half hour's labour we came to a village at the foot of the mountain, on the side of which, about three hundred paces from us, we perceived two separate houses, which inspired us with a stratagem that was successful.

We lost our hats in leaping the ramparts; but Schell had preserved his scarf and gorget, which would give him authority among the peasants.

I then cut my finger, rubbed the blood over my face, my shirt, and my coat, and bound up my head, to give me the appearance of a man dangerously wounded.

In this condition I carried Schell to the end of the wood, not far from these houses: here he tied my hands behind my back, but so that I could easily disengage them in case of need; and hobbled after me, by aid of his staff, calling for help.

Two old peasants appeared, and Schell commanded them to run to the village and tell a magistrate to come immediately with a cart. "I have seized this knave," added he, "who has killed my horse, and in the struggle, put out my ankle; however, I have wounded and bound him: fly quickly, bring a cart, lest he should die before he is hanged."

As for me, I suffered myself to be led as if half dead, into the house. A peasant was dispatched to the village. An old woman and a pretty girl seemed to take great pity on me, and gave me some bread and milk: but how great was our astonishment, when the aged peasant called Schell by his name, and told him he well knew we were deserters, having the night before been at a neighbouring ale-house, where the officer in pursuit of us came and described us, and related the whole history of our flight. The peasant knew

Schell, because his son served in his company, and had often spoken of him.

Presence of mind and resolution, were all that was now left. I instantly ran to the stable, while Schell detained the peasant in the chamber. He however was a worthy man, and directed him the roads towards Bohemia. We were still but about some seven miles from Glatz, having lost ourselves among the mountains, where we had wandered many miles. The daughter followed me: I found three horses in the stable, but no bridles. I conjured her in the most passionate manner to assist me. She was affected, seemed half willing to follow me, and gave me the two bridles. I led the horses to the door, called Schell and helped him with his lame leg on horseback. The old peasant then began to weep and beg I would not take his horses; but he luckily wanted courage, and perhaps the will to impede us; for, with a single dung-fork in our then feeble condition, he might have stopped us long enough to have called in assistance from the village.

And now behold us on horseback, without hats or saddles; Schell, with his uniform scarf and gorget, and I in my red body guard coat. Still were we in danger of seeing all our hopes vanish, for my horse would not stir from the stable. However, at last, good horseman like, I made him move. Schell led the way, and we had scarcely gone a hundred paces before we perceived the peasants coming in crowds from the village.

As kind fortune would have it, the people were all at church, it being a festival: the peasants Schell had sent were obliged to call aid out of church. It was but nine in the morning; and had the peasants been at home, we had been lost without hope.

We were obliged to take the road to Wunshelburg, and pass through the town where Schell had been quartered a month before, and every body knew him. Our dress, without hats or saddles, sufficiently proclaimed we were deserters. Our horses however continued to go tolerably well, and we had the good luck to get through the town, although there was a garrison of one hundred and eighty infantry, and twelve horse, purposely to arrest deserters. Schell knew the road to

Braunau, where we arrived at eleven o'clock, after having met, as I before mentioned, captain Zerbst.

Thus, in freedom at Braunau, on the Bohemian frontiers, I sent the two horses with the corporal's sword, back to general Fouquet at Glatz. The letter accompanying them was so pleasing to him, that all the sentinels before my prison door, as well as the guards under arms, and all those we passed, were obliged to run the gauntlet, although the very day before, he had himself declared my escape was now rendered impossible.

The estates which had been purchased by the blood of my forefathers, were confiscated; and thus was a youth, of one of the noblest families in the land, whose heart was all zeal for the service of his king and country, and who was among those most capable to render them service, banished, by this unjust and misled king, and treated like the worst of miscreants, malefactors and traitors.

I wrote to the king, and sent him a true state of my case; sent indubitable proofs of my innocence, and supplicated justice, but received no answer.

Major Doo, who as I have said, was the creature of Fouquet, a mean and covetous man, knowing I had money, had always acted the part of a protector, as he pretended to me, and continually told me I was condemned for life. He perpetually turned the conversation on the great credit of his general with the king, and his own great credit with the general. For the present of a horse on which I wrote to Glatz, he gave me the freedom of walking about the fortress: and for another worth a hundred ducats, I rescued ensign Reitz from death, who had been betrayed, when endeavouring to effect our escape. I have been assured, that on that very day on which I snatched his sword from his side, desperately passed through the garrison and leaped the walls of the rampart, he was expressly come to tell me, after some prefatory threats, that by his general's intercession, my punishment was only to be a year's imprisonment, and that consequently I should be released in a few days.

And now was I in Bohemia, a fugitive stranger, without money, protector, or friend, and only twenty years of age.

In the campaign of 1744 I had been quartered at Braunau with a weaver, whom I advised and assisted to bury his effects, and preserve them from being plundered. The worthy man received us with joy and gratitude.

I had but a single louis-d'or in my purse, and Schell forty kreutzers, or some three shillings: with this small sum in a strange country, we had to cure his sprain, and provide for all our wants.

I was determined not to go to my cousin Trenck at Vienna. I wrote to my mistress at Berlin, but received no answer; possibly because I could not indicate any certain mode of conveyance. My mother believed me guilty, and abandoned me: my brothers were still minors; and my friend at Schweidnitz could not aid me, being gone to Königsberg.

After three weeks abode at Braunau, my friend recovered of his lameness. We had been obliged to sell my watch, with his scarf and gorget, and had only four florins remaining.

Never till now had I felt any inconvenience from poverty; my wants had been amply supplied, and I had ever lived among, and been highly loved and esteemed by the first people of the land. I was now destitute without aid, and undetermined how to seek employment or obtain fame.

At length I determined to travel on foot to Prussia, to try my mother, and obtain money from her, and afterward enter into the Russian service. Schell, whose destiny was linked to mine, would not forsake me. We assumed false names. I called myself Knert, and Schell Lefch; then obtaining passports like common deserters, we left Braunau on the 21st of January in the evening, unseen of any person, and proceeded towards Biletz in Poland. A friend I had at Neurode gave me a pair of pocket pistols, a musket, and three ducats.—The money was spent at Braunau. Here let me take occasion to remark, I had lent this friend in urgent necessity a hundred ducats, which he still owed me; and, when I sent to request payment he returned me three, as if I had asked charity.

Though a circumstantial description of our travels would alone fill a volume, I shall only relate the most



angular accidents which happened to us. I shall also insert the journal of our route, which my friend Schell had preserved and gave me in 1776, when he came to see me at Aix-la-Chapelle, after an absence of thirty years.

# JOURNAL

*Of Travels on foot from Braunau in Bohemia, through Bilitz in Poland, to Meseritz: and from Meseritz by Thorn, by Elbing—In the whole 169 miles\*, performed without begging or stealing.*

Jan. 18th 1747. From Braunau by Politz to Nachod, three miles, we having three florins, forty-five kreutzers in one purse.

Jan. 19. To Neustadt. Here Schell bartered his uniform for an old coat, and a Jew gave him two florins fifteen kreutzers in exchange. From hence we went to Reichenau; in all three miles.

Jan. 20. We went to Leutomischel, five miles: Here I bought a loaf hot out of the oven, which, eating greedily, had nearly caused my death. This obliged us to rest a day; and the extravagant charge of the landlord almost emptied our purse.

Jan. 22. From Tribau to Zwitzwa, in Moravia, four miles.

Jan. 23. To Sternberg, six miles. This day's journey excessively fatigued poor Schell: his sprained ankle being still very weak.

Jan. 24. To Leibnitz, four miles; in a deep snow, and with empty stomachs. Here I sold my stock-buckle for four florins.

Jan. 25. To Fryberg, by Weiskirch, to Dratochusch five miles. Early in the morning, we found a violin and case on the road. The in-keeper in Weiskirch gave us two florins for it, on condition, that he should

\* The German mile contains from four to seven English miles, and this variation appears to depend on the ignorance of the people, and on the roads being in some places but little frequented. It seems probable, the baron and his friend might have travelled about 800 English miles.

return it to the owner, on proving his right, it being worth at least twenty.

Jan. 26. To Freideck, in upper Silesia, two miles.

Jan. 27. To a village, four miles and a half.

Jan. 28. Through Schotfscha, to Bilitz, three miles.

This was the last Aultrian town on the frontiers of Poland; and captain Capi, of the regiment of Marischall, who commanded the garrison, demanded our passports. We had false names, and called ourselves common Prussian deserters; but a drummer who had deserted from Glatz, knew us, and betrayed us to the captain, who immediately arrested us very rudely, and sent us on foot to Teschin, refusing us a hearing, four miles distant.

Here we found lieutenant colonel baron Schwarzer, a perfectly worthy man, who was highly interested in our behalf, and who blamed the irregular, arbitrary conduct of captain Capi. I frankly related my adventures; and he used every possible argument to persuade me, instead of continuing my journey through Poland, to go to Vienna; but in vain.

I returned, therefore, a second time, to Bilitz, travelling these four miles, once more. Schwarzer lent us his own horse, and four ducats, which I have since repaid, but which I shall never forget, as they were of signal service to me, and procured me a pair of new boots.

Irritated against captain Capi, we passed through Bilitz without stopping, went immediately to Biala, the first town in Poland, and from thence, sent Capi a challenge to fight me, with sword or pistol, but received no answer.

Feb. 1. We proceeded four miles, from Biala to Cswintzin, I having determined to ask aid from my sister, who had married Valdow, and lived much at her ease, at a fine estate at Fammar, in Brandenburg, between Landsberg on the Warta and Meseritz, a frontier town of Poland. For this reason we continued our route all along the Silesian confines, to Meseritz.

Feb. 2. To Rohrek and Elkusfh, five miles. We suffered much this day, because of the snow, and that the lightness of our dress was ill suited to such severe weather. Schell, negligently lost our purse, in which

were nine florins. I had still, however, nineteen grosch in my pocket (about half a crown)

Feb. 3. To Crumelow, three miles; and

Feb. 4. To Wladowiegud Joreck, three miles more; and from thence, on

Feb. 5. To Czenstochowa, where there is a magnificent convent, concerning which, had I room, I might write many remarkable things, much to the disgrace of its inhabitants.

We slept at an inn kept by a very worthy man, whose name was Lazar. He had been a lieutenant in the Austrian service, where he had suffered much, and was now become a poor innkeeper in Poland. We had not a penny in our purse, and requested a bit of bread. The generous man had compassion on us, and desired us to sit down, and eat with himself. I then told him who we were, and intrusted him with the motives of our journey. Scarcely had we supped, before a carriage arrived with four people. They had their own horses, a servant, and a coachman.

We had before met this carriage at Flkusch, and one of these people had asked Schell where we were going? He had replied, to Czenstochowa; we therefore had not the least suspicion of them, notwithstanding the danger we ran.

They lay at the inn, saluted us but with indifference, not seeming to notice us, and spoke little. We had not been long in bed before our host came to awaken us, and told us with surprise, these pretended merchants were sent to arrest us from Prussia; that they had offered, first, fifty, afterwards, a hundred ducats, if he would permit them to take us in his house, and carry us into Silesia; that he had firmly rejected the proposal, though they had increased their promises; and that at last, they had given him six ducats to engage silence.

We clearly saw these were an officer and under officers sent by general Fouquet to recover us — We conjectured by what means they had discovered our route, and imagined the information they had received could only come from one lieutenant Mollinie, of the garrison of Pabstschwert, who had come to visit Schell as a friend, during our stay at Braunau. He had remained with us two days, and had asked many questions

concerning the road we should take, and he was the only one who knew it. He was probably the spy of Fouquet, and the cause of what happened afterwards, which however ended in the defeat of our enemies.

The moment I heard of this infamous treachery, I was for entering with my pistols primed into the enemies chamber; but was prevented by Schell and Lazar: the latter entreated me in the strongest manner to remain at his house till I should receive a supply from my mother, that I might be enabled to continue my journey with more ease and less danger: but his intreaties were ineffectual, I was determined to see her, uncertain as I was of what effect my letter had produced. Lazar assured me, we should most infallibly be attacked on the road. "So much the better," retorted I; "that will give me an opportunity of dispatching them, sending them to the other world, and shooting them as I would highwaymen." They departed at break of day, and took the road to Warsaw.

We would have been gone likewise, but Lazar in some sort forcibly detained us, and gave us the six ducats he had received from the Prussians, with which we bought us each a shirt, another pair of pocket pistols, and other urgent necessities; then took an affectionate leave of the host, who directed us on our way, and we testified our gratitude for the great services done us.

Feb. 6. From Czenstochowa to Dankow, two miles. Here we expected an attack. Lazar had told us our enemies had but one musket. I also had a musket and an excellent sabre, and each of us was provided with a pair of pistols.

Feb. 7. We took the road to Parsfemechi: we had not been an hour on the road before we saw a carriage. As we drew near we knew it to be that of our enemies, who pretended it was set in the snow. They were round it, and when they saw us approach, began to call for help. This we guessed was an artifice to entrap us. Schell was not strong; they would all have fallen upon me, and we should easily have been carried off, for they wanted to take us alive.

We left the causeway about thirty paces, answering, "We had not time to give them help;" at which they all ran to their carriage, drew out their pistols, and re-

turning full speed after us, called, "Stop, rascals!" We began to run, but I suddenly turning round, presented my piece, and shot the nearest dead on the spot. Schell fired his pistols; our opposers did the same, and Schell received a ball in the neck at this discharge. It was now my turn. I took out my pistols; one of the assailants fled, and I, enraged, pursued him three hundred paces, overtook him, and as he was defending himself with his sword, perceiving he bled and made but a feeble resistance, pressed upon him, and gave him a stroke that brought him down. I instantly returned to Schell, whom I found in the power of two others, that were dragging him towards the carriage; but when they saw me at their heels, they fled over the fields. The coachman perceiving which way the battle went, leaped on his box and drove off full speed.

Schell though delivered, was wounded with a ball in the neck, and by a cut in the right hand which had made him drop his sword, though he affirmed he had run one of his adversaries through.

I took a silver watch from the man I had killed, and was going to make free with his purse, when Schell called and showed me a coach and six coming down a hill. To stay would have exposed us to have been imprisoned as highwaymen; for the two fugitives who had escaped us, would certainly have borne witness against us. Safety only could be found in flight. I however seized the musket and hat of him I had first killed, and we then gained the copse, and after that the forest. The road was round about, and it was night before we reached Parsfemecki.

Schell was besmeared with blood; I had bound up his wound the best I could; but in Polish villages no surgeons are to be found, and he performed his journey with great difficulty. We met with two Saxon under officers here, who were recruiting for the regiment of guards at Dresden. My six feet height and person pleased them, and they immediately made themselves acquainted with me. I found them intelligent, and entrusted them with our secret, told them who we were, related the battle we had that day had with our pursuers, and I had not reason to repent of my confidence in them. Schell had his wounds dressed; and we remained

seven days with these good Saxons, who faithfully kept us company.

I learned mean time, that of the four men by whom we had been assaulted, one only and the coachman returned alive to Glatz. The name of the officer who undertook this vile business was Gerisdorf; he had a hundred and fifty ducats in his pocket when found dead. How great would our fortune have been had not that cursed coach and six by its appearance made us take to flight, since the booty would have been more just! Fortune this time did not favour the innocent; and though traiterously attacked, I was obliged to escape like a guilty wretch. We sold the watch to a Jew for four ducats, the hat for three florins and a half, and the musket for a ducat, Schell being unable to carry it farther. We left most of this money behind us at Parfemechi. A Jew surgeon sold us some dear plaisters, which we took with us and departed.

Feb. 15. From Parfemechi through Vielum to Biala, four miles.

Feb. 16. Through Jerischew to Micorsen, four miles and a half.

Feb. 17. To Osterkow and Schwarzwald, three miles.

Feb. 18. To Edune, four miles.

Feb. 19. To Goblin, two miles.

Here we arrived wholly destitute of money.—I sold my coat to a Jew, who gave me four florins and a coarse waggoner's frock in exchange, which I did not think I should long need, as we now drew nearer to where my sister lived, and where I hoped I should be better equipped. Schell however grew weaker and weaker; his wounds healed slowly, and were expensive; the cold also was injurious to him; and as he was not by nature cleanly in his person, his body soon became the harbour of every species of vermin to be picked up in Poland. We often arrived wet and weary to our smoaky reeking stove-room. Often were we obliged to lie on straw or the bare boards; and the various hardships we suffered were almost incredible. Wondering as we did in the midst of winter through Poland, where humanity, hospitality, and gentle pity, are scarcely so much as known by name; where merciless

Jews deny the poor traveller a bed ; and where we discomfolarately strayed without bread and almost naked. These were sufferings, the full extent of which he only can conceive, by whom they have been felt. My musket now and then procured us an occasional meal of tame geese, and cocks and hens, when these were to be had ; otherwise we never took or touched any thing that was not our own. We met with Saxon and Prussian recruiters at various places ; all of whom, on account of my youth and stature, were eager to inveigle me. I was highly diverted to hear them enumerate all the possibilities of future greatness, and how liable I was hereafter to become a corporal. Nor was I less merry with their mead, ale, and brandy, given with an intent to make me drunk. Thus had we many artifices to guard against, but thus had we likewise, very luckily for us, many a good meal gratis.

Feb. 21. We went from Goblin to Pugnitz, three miles and a half.

Feb. 22. Through Storchnest to Schmiegel, four miles.

Here happened a singular adventure. The peasants at this place were dancing to a vile scraper on the violin. I took the instrument myself, and played while they continued their hilarity. They were much pleased with my playing ; but when I was tired, and desirous to have done, they obliged me, first by importunities, and afterwards by threats, to play on all night. I was so fatigued I thought I should have fainted : at length they quarrelled among themselves. Schell was sleeping on a bench, and some of them fell on his wounded hand. He rose furious, I seized our arms, began to lay about me ; and while all was in confusion, we escaped without further ill treatment.

Feb. 23. From Schmiegel to Rakonitz, and from thence to Karzer Holland, four miles and a half. Here we sold to prevent dying of hunger, a shirt and Schell's waistcoat for eighteen grosch, or nine schoftack. I had shot a pullet the day before, which necessity obliged us to eat raw, I also killed a crow which I devoured alone, Schell refusing to taste.

Feb. 24. We came through Benzen to Lettel, four miles. Here we halted a day to learn the road to

Hammer in Brandenburg where my sister lived. I happened luckily to meet with the wife of a Prussian soldier who lived at Lettel, and belonged to Kolschen, where she was born a vassal of my sister's husband. I told her who I was, and she became our guide.

Feb. 26. To Kurschen and Falkenwalde.

Feb. 27. Through Neuendorf and Oost, and afterwards through a pathless wood, five miles and a half to Hammer; and here I knocked at my sister's door at nine o'clock in the evening.

A maid servant came to the door whom I knew; her name was Mary, and she had been born and brought up in my father's house. She was terrified at seeing a sturdy fellow in a beggar's dress; which perceiving, I asked Molly, do not you know me? She answered no; and I then discovered myself to her. I asked whether my brother-in-law was at home: Mary replied yes, but he was sick in bed. Tell my sister then, said I, that I am here. She showed me into a room, and my sister presently came.

She was alarmed at seeing me, not knowing that I had escaped from Glatz, and ran to inform her husband, but did not return.

A quarter of an hour after the good Mary came weeping, and told us her master commanded us to quit the premises instantly, or he should be obliged to have us arrested, and delivered up as prisoners. My sister's husband forcibly detained her, and I saw her no more.

I furiously left the house, uttering a thousand menaces against its inhabitants, while the kind hearted Mary, still weeping, slipped three ducats into my hand, which I accepted.

And now behold us once more in the woods, which was not above a hundred paces from the house, half dead with hunger and fatigue, not daring to enter any habitation while in the states of Brandenburg, and dragging our weary steps all night in snow and rain, until our guide at length brought us back at day-break once again to the town of Lettel.

She herself wept in pity at our fate, and I could only give her two ducats for the danger she had run; but I bade her hope more in future; and I afterwards sent



for her to Vienna, in 1751, where I took great care of her.

Deceived in the aid I expected, I was obliged to change my plan, and go to my mother, who lived in Prussia, nine miles beyond Konigsberg.

Feb. 28. We continued, tired, anxious and distressed at Lettel.

March 1. We went three miles to Pleeße, and on.

March 2. A mile and a half farther to Meseritz.

March 3. Through Mersebaum to Birubaum, three miles.

March 4. Through Zircke, Wrunneck, Obestchow to Studnitze, seven miles in one day, three of which we had the good fortune to ride.

March 5. Three miles to Rogosen, where we arrived without so much as a heller to pay our lodging. The Jew inn-keeper drove us out of his house; we were obliged to wander all night, and at break of day, found we had strayed two miles out of the road.

We entered a peasant's cottage, where an old woman was drawing bread-hot out of an oven. We had no money to offer, and I felt at this moment the possibility even of committing murder for a morsel of bread, to satisfy the intolerable cravings of hunger. Shuddering with torment inexpressible at the thought, I hastened out of the door, and we walked on two miles more to Wongrosze.

Here I for a ducat sold my musket, which had procured us many a meal; such was the extremity of our distress. We then satiated our appetites, after having been forty hours without food or sleep, and having travelled ten miles in fleet and snow.

March 6. We rested, and came on the 7th through Genin to a village in the forest, four miles.

Here we fell in with a gang of gypsies (or rather banditti) amounting to four hundred men, who dragged me to their camp. They were mostly French and Prussian deserters, and thinking me their equal, would force me to become one of their band. But venturing to tell my story to their leader, he presented me with a crown, gave us a small provision of bread and meat, and suffered us to depart in peace, after having been four and twenty hours in their company.

March 9. We proceeded to Lapuschin, three miles and a half; and the 10th to Thorn, four miles.

There was a fair held at Thorn on the day of our arrival. Suspicions might well arise among the crowd, on seeing a strong, tall young man, wretchedly clothed, with a large sabre by his side, and a pair of pistols in his girdle, accompanied by another as poorly apparelled as himself, with his hand and neck bound up, and armed likewise with pistols, so that altogether, he more resembled a spectre than a man.

We went into an inn, but were refused entertainment: I then asked for the Jesuits college, where I enquired for the father rector. They supposed at first I was a thief come to seek an asylum. After long waiting and much entreaty, his Jesuitical highness at length made his appearance, and received me as the great Mogul would his slave. My case certainly was pitiable: I related all the events of my life, and the purport of my journey; conjured him to save Schell, who was unable to proceed further, and whose wounds grew daily worse; and prayed him to entertain him at the convent till I should have been to my mother, have obtained money, and returned to Thorn, when I would certainly repay him whatever expence he might have been at, with thanks and gratitude.

Scarcely would he listen to my humble request; thought and interrupted me continually to tell me, "Be brief, I have more pressing affairs than thine." In fine, I was turned away without obtaining the least assistance.

Mournful and angry I left the college, and went to my lodging house, where I found a Prussian recruiting officer waiting for me, who used all his art to engage me to enlist; offering me five hundred dollars, and to make me a corporal if I could write. I pretended I was a Livonian, who had deserted from the Austrians to return home, and claim an inheritance left me by my father. After much persuasion he at length told me in confidence, it was very well known in the town that I was a robber; that I should soon be taken before a magistrate, but that if I would enlist, he would insure my safety.

"This language was new to me ; my passions rose instantaneously ; I remembered my name was Trenck. I struck him, and drew my sword ; but instead of defending himself he sprang out of the chamber, charging the host not to let me quit the house. I knew the town of Thorn had agreed with the king of Prussia, secretly to deliver up deserters, and began to fear the consequences. Looking through the window, I saw two Prussian officers enter the house. Schell and I instantly flew to arms, and met the Prussians at the chamber door. "Make way," cried I, presenting my pistols. The Prussian soldiers drew their swords, but retired with fear. Going out of the house, I saw a Prussian lieutenant in the street with the town guard. These I overawed likewise by the same means, and no one durst oppose me, though every one cried, "Stop thief." I came safely however to the Jesuits convent ; but poor Schell was taken and dragged to prison like a malefactor.

Half mad at not being able to rescue him, I imagined he must soon be delivered up to the Prussians. My reception was much better at the convent than it had been before, for they no longer doubted but that I was really a thief who sought an asylum. I addressed myself to one of the fathers, who appeared to be a good kind of a man, related briefly what had happened, and entreated he would endeavour to discover why they sought to molest us.

He went out, and returning in an hour after, told me : "Nobody knows you ; a considerable theft was yesterday committed in the fair ; all suspicious persons are seized ; you entered the town accoutred like banditti. The man where you put up is employed as a Prussian enlister, and has announced you as suspicious people. The Prussian lieutenant thereupon laid complaint against you, and it was thought necessary to secure your persons.

My joy at hearing this was great. Our Moravian passport, and the journal of our route, which I had in my pocket, were full proofs of our innocence. I requested they would send and enquire at the town where we lay the night before. I soon convinced the Jesuit I spoke truth : he went, and presently returned with

one of the syndics, to whom I gave a more full account of myself. The syndic examined Schell, and found his story and mine agreed; besides which, our papers that they had seized, declared who we were. I passed the night in the convent without closing my eyes, revolving in my mind all the rigours of my fate. I was still more disturbed for Schell, who knew not where I was, but remained firmly persuaded we should be conducted to Berlin; and if so, determined to put a period to his life.

My doubts were all ended at ten in the morning, when my good Jesuit arrived, and was followed by friend Schell. The judges he said had found us innocent, and declared us free to go where we pleased; adding however, that he advised us to be upon our guard, we being watched by the Prussian enlists; that the lieutenant had hoped, by having us committed as thieves, to oblige me to enter; and that this would account for all that had happened.

I gave Schell a most affectionate welcome, who had been very ill used when led to prison, because he had endeavoured to defend himself with his left hand, and follow me. The people had thrown mud at him, and called him a rascal that would soon be hanged. Schell was little able to travel further. The father rector sent us a ducat, but did not see us; and the chief magistrate gave each of us a crown by way of indemnification for false imprisonment. Thus sent away, we returned to our lodging, took our bundles, and immediately prepared to leave Thorn.

As we went, I reflected, that on the road to Elbing, we must pass through several Prussian villages, and enquired for a shop where we might purchase a map. We were directed to an old woman who sat at a door across the way, and were told she had a good assortment, for that her son was a scholar. I addressed myself to her, and my question pleased her, I having added, we were unfortunate travellers, who wished to find by the map, the road to Russia.

She showed us into a chamber, laid an atlas on the table, and placed herself opposite me while I examined the map, and endeavoured to hide a bit of a ragged ruffle that had made its appearance. After steadily

looking at me, she at length exclaimed with a sad and mournful tone, "Good God! who knows what is now become of my poor son! I can see, Sir, you two are of a good family. My son would go and seek his fortune, and for these eight years have I had no tidings of him. He must now be in the Austrian cavalry." I asked in what regiment? "The regiment of Hohenhem; you are his very picture." "Is he not of my height?" "Yes, nearly." "Has he not light hair?" "Yes, like yours, Sir." "What is his name?" "His name is William."—"No, my dear mother," cried I, "William is not dead; he was my best friend when I was with my regiment." Here the poor woman could not contain her joy. She threw herself round my neck, called me her good angel who brought her happy tidings, asked me a thousand questions, which I easily contrived to make her answer herself; and thus forced by imperious necessity, bereft of all other means, did I act the deceiver.

The story I made was nearly as follows: I told her I was a soldier in the regiment of Hohenhem, that I had a furlough to go and see my father, and that I should return in a month; would then take her letters, and undertake that if she wished it, her son should purchase his discharge, and once more come and live with his mother. I added, that I should be for ever and infinitely obliged to her if she would suffer my comrade mean time to live at her house, he being wounded by the Prussian recruiters, and unable to pursue his journey; that I would send him money to come to me, or would myself come back and fetch him, thankfully paying every expense. She joyfully consented, told me her second husband, father-in-law to her dear William, had driven him from home, that he might give what substance they had to the younger son; and that the eldest had gone to Magdeburg. She determined Schell should live at the house of a friend, that her husband might know nothing of the matter; and not satisfied with this kindness, she made me eat with her, gave me a new shirt, stockings, sufficient provisions for three days, and six Lunenburg florins. I left Thorn, and my faithful Schell the same night, with the consolation he was well taken care of; and having parted from him

with regret, went on this the 13th, two miles further, to Burglow.

March 14. I went to Schwetz; and,

March 15. To Neuburg and Mowe. In these two days I travelled thirteen miles. I lay at Mowe in some straw among a number of carters, and when I awoke, perceived they had taken my pistols and what little money I had left, even to my last penny. The gentlemen however were all gone.

What could I do? The innkeeper, perhaps, was privy to the theft. My reckoning amounted to eighteen Polish grosch. The surly landlord pretended to believe I had no money when I entered his house, and I was obliged to give him the only spare shirt I had, with a silk handkerchief, which the good woman of Thorn had made me a present of, and to depart without a single heller.

March 16. I set off for Marienburg; but it was impossible to reach this place, and not fall into the hands of the Prussians, if I did not cross the Vistula; and unfortunately I had no money to pay the ferry, which would cost two Polish schellings.

Full of anxiety, not knowing how to act, I saw two fishermen in a boat, went to them, drew my sabre, and obliged them to land me on the other side: when there I took the oars from these timid people, jumped out of the boat, pushed it off the shore, and left it to drive with the stream.

I found Saxon and Prussian recruiters at Marienburg, with whom, having no money, I eat, drank, listened to their proposals, gave them hopes for the morrow, and departed by break of day.

March 17. To Elbing four miles.

Here I met with my former worthy tutor, Brodowsky, who was become a captain, and auditor in the Polish regiment of Golzisch. He met me just as I entered the town. I followed triumphant to his quarters, and here, at length, ended the painful, long, and adventurous journey I had been obliged to perform.

This good and kind gentleman, after providing me with immediate necessities, wrote so affectingly to my mother, that she came to Elbing in a week, and gave me every aid of which I stood in need.

The pleasure I had in meeting once more this tender mother, whose qualities of heart and mind were equally excellent, was inexpressible. She found a certain mode of conveying a letter to my dear mistress at Berlin, who a short time after, sent me a bill of exchange for four hundred ducats upon Dantzic. To this my mother added a thousand rix dollars, and a diamond cross, worth nearly half as much; remained a fortnight with me, and persisted in spite of all remonstrance, in advising me to go to Vienna. My determination had been fixed for Petersburg; all my fears and apprehensions being awakened at the thought of Vienna. She would not yield in opinion, and promised her future assistance only in case of my obedience: it was my duty not to continue obstinate. Here she left me, and I have never seen her since. She died in 1751, and I have ever held her memory in veneration. It was a happiness for this affectionate mother, that she did not live to be a witness of my afflictions, in the year 1754.

An Adventure, resembling that of Joseph in Egypt, happened to me in Elbing. The wife of the worthy Brodowsky, a woman of infinite personal attraction, grew partial to me; but I durst not act ungratefully by my benefactor. Never to see me more was too painful to her, and she even proposed to follow me secretly to Vienna. I own I had an affection for this lady; but my passions were overawed. She preferred me to her husband, who was in years, and ordinary in person.

Had I yielded to the slightest degree of guilt, that of present enjoyment, a few days of pleasure must have been followed by years of bitter repentance.

Having once more assumed my proper name and character, and made presents of acknowledgment to the worthy tutor of my youth, I returned to Thorn.

How great was my joy at again meeting my honest Schell! The kind old woman had treated him like a mother. She was surprised, and half terrified, at seeing me enter in an officer's uniform, and accompanied by two servants. I gratefully and rapturously kissed her hand, repaid, with thankfulness, every expense for Schell had been nurtured with truly maternal kindness, told her who I was, acknowledged the deceit I had put upon her concerning her son, but faithfully promis-

ed to give a true, and not fictitious account of him immediately on my arrival at Vienna\*; Schell was ready in three days, and we left Thorn, came to Warsaw, came thence through Crakow, to Vienna.

ARRIVED at VIENNA in the month of April, 1747.

After having defrayed the expenses of travelling for me and my friend Schell, I divided the three hundred ducats which remained with him, and having staid a month at Vienna, he went to join the regiment of Pallavicini in which he had obtained a first lieutenant's commission, and which was then in Italy.

Here I found my cousin, baron Francis Trenck, the famous partizan and colonel of Pandours, imprisoned at the arsenal, and involved in a most perplexing prosecution.

I was moved to the soul at his sufferings, and, as he vented public threats at prospect of approaching victory over his enemies, they gained over the court confessor; and, dreading him as they did, put every wiley art in practice to insure his destruction. I, therefore, in the fulness of my heart, made him the brotherly proposition of escaping, and having obtained his liberty, to prove his innocence to the empress queen. I told him my plan, which might easily have been put in execution, and which he seemed perfectly decided to follow.

Some days after, I was ordered to wait on field marshal count Konigseck, governor of Vienna. This respectable old gentleman behaved to me like a father, and the friend of humanity; advised me to abandon my cousin, who, he gave me clearly to understand, had betrayed me, by having revealed my proposed plan of escape,

\* *When I came to Vienna I took all possible pains to enquire for this William, and found by the commissary list, that he had deserted in 1744, had been retaken and actually hanged. For a bribe of a few ducats, I procured a certificate of his having died a natural death, which I sent to the good woman, with a letter of thanks and consolation. Perhaps poor William, who was heir to twenty thousand florins, unable to procure a fur-ough, had deserted, and was executed as a malefactor. To how many reflections (on arbitrary power, standing armies, and military law) do incidents, like these, give birth to.*



willing to sacrifice me to his ambition in order to justify the purity of his intentions to the court, and show that, instead of wishing to escape, he only desired justice.

Confounded at the cowardly action of one for whom I would willingly have sacrificed my life, and whom I only sought to deliver, I resolved to leave him to his fate, and thought myself exceedingly happy that the worthy field-marshal would, after a fatherly admonition, smother all farther enquiry into this affair.

I related this black trait of ingratitude to prince Charles of Lorraine, who prevailed on me to go again to see my cousin, without letting him know I knew what had passed, and still to render him every service in my power.

Before I proceed I will give the reader a portrait of this Trenck.

He was a man of superior talents and unbounded ambition; devoted, even fanatically, to his sovereign; his boldness approached temerity; he was artful of mind, wicked of heart, vindictive and unfeeling. His cupidity equalled the utmost excess of avarice, even in his thirty-third year, in which he died. He was too proud to receive favours or obligations from any man, and was capable of ridding himself of his best friend, if he thought he had any claims on his gratitude, or could get possession of his fortune.

He knew I had rendered him very important services, supposed his cause already won, having bribed the judges who were to revise the sentence, with thirty thousand florins, which money I received from his friend, baron Lopresti, and conveyed to these honest counsellors. I knew all his secrets; and nothing more was necessary to prompt his suspicious and bad heart to seek my destruction.

Scarcely had a fortnight elapsed after having first betrayed me, before the following remarkable event happened.

I left him one evening to return home, taking under my coat a bag with papers and documents relating to the prosecution, which I had been examining for him, and transcribing. There were at this time about five and twenty officers in Vienna, who had laid complaints against him, and who considered me as their greatest

enemy, because I had laboured earnestly in his defence. I was therefore obliged on all occasions to be upon my guard. A report had been propagated through Vienna, that I was secretly sent by the king of Prussia to free my cousin from imprisonment: he however constantly denied to the hour of his death, his ever having written to me at Berlin.—Hence also it will follow, the letter I received had been forged by Jaschinsky.

Leaving the arsenal I crossed the court and perceived I was closely followed by two men in roquelaures; who pressing upon my heels, held loud and insolent conversation concerning the runaway Prussian Trenck. I found they sought a quarrel, which was a thing of no great difficulty at that moment; for a man is never more disposed to duelling than when he has nothing to lose, and is discontented with his condition. I supposed they were two of the accusing officers broken by Trenck, and endeavoured to avoid them, and gain the Jew's place.

Scarcely had I turned down the street that leads thither before they quickened their pace. I turned round, and in a moment received a thrust with a sword in the left side where I had put my bag of papers; which incident alone saved my life: the sword pierced through the papers and slightly grazed the skin. I instantly drew and the heroes ran. I pursued; one of them tripped and fell. I seized him; the guard came up: he declared he was an officer of the regiment of Kellowrat, showed his uniform, was released, and I was taken to prison. The town major came the next day and told me I had intentionally fought a quarrel with two officers, lieutenants F—g and K—n. These kind gentlemen did not reveal their humane intention of sending me to the other world.

I was alone; could produce no witness: they were two. I must necessarily be in the wrong, and I remained six days in prison. No sooner was I released, than these my good friends sent to demand satisfaction for the said pretended insult. The proposal was accepted, and I promised to be at the Scotch gate, the place appointed by them, within an hour. Having heard their names, I presently knew them to be two famous swaggerers, who were daily exercising themselves

in fencing at the arsenal, and where they often visited Trenck. I went to my cousin to ask his assistance, related what had happened, and as the consequence of this duel might be serious, desired him to give me an hundred ducats, that I might be able to fly, if either of them should fall.

Hitherto I had expended my own money on his account, and had asked no reimbursement; but what was my astonishment, when this wicked man said to me with a sneer, "Since, good cousin, you have got into a quarrel without consulting me, you will also get out of it without my aid!"—As I left him, he called me back to tell me, "I will take care to pay your undertaker;" for he certainly believed I should never return alive.

I ran now half despairing to baron Lopresti, who gave me fifty ducats and a pair of pistols; provided with which, I cheerfully repaired to the field of battle.

Here I found half a dozen officers of the garrison. As I had few acquaintances at Vienna, I had no second except an old Spanish invalid captain, named Pereyra, who met me going in all haste, and having learned whither, would not leave me.

Lieutenant K—n was the first with whom I fought, and who received satisfaction by a deep wound in the right arm. Hereupon I desired the spectators to prevent further mischief; for my own part, I had nothing more to demand. Lieutenant F—g next entered the lists with threats, which were soon quieted by a lunge in the belly. Hereupon lieutenant M—f, second to the first wounded man, told me very angrily—"Had I been your man, you would have found a very different reception." My old Spaniard of eighty, proudly and immediately advanced, with his long whiskers and tottering frame, and cried—"Hold! Trenck has proved himself a brave fellow, and if any man thinks to assault him further, he must first take a breathing with me." Every body laughed at this bravado from a man who scarcely could stand or hold a sword. I replied—"Friend, I am safe, unhurt, and want not aid: should I be disabled, you then if you think proper, may take my place; but as long as I can hold a sword, I shall take pleasure in satisfying all these gentlemen one af-

ter another." I would have rested myself a moment, but the haughty M—f, enraged at the defeat of his friend, would not give me time, but furiously attacked me, and having wounded him twice, once in the hand, and again in the groin, he wanted to close and sink me to the grave with himself; but I disarmed and threw him.

None of the others had any desire to renew the contest. My three enemies were sent bleeding to town; and as M—f appeared to be mortally wounded, and the Jesuits and Capuchins of Vienna refused me an asylum, I fled to the convent at Keltenberg.

I wrote from the convent to colonel baron Lopresti, who came to me. I told him all that had passed, and by his good offices had liberty in a week to appear once more at Vienna.

The blood of lieutenant F—g was in a corrupt state, and his wound, though not itself dangerous, made his life doubtful. He sent to entreat I would visit him; and when I went, having requested I would pardon him, gave me to understand I ought to beware of my cousin. I afterwards learned the traiterous Trenck had promised lieutenant F—g a company and a thousand ducats, if he could find means to quarrel with me, and rid the world of me. He was deeply in debt, and sought the assistance of lieutenant K—n; and had not the papers luckily preserved, I had undoubtedly been dispatched by his first lounge. To clear themselves of the infamy of such an act, these two worthy gentlemen pretended I had assaulted them in the streets.

I could no more resolve to see my ungrateful and dangerous kinsman, who wished to have me murdered because I knew all his secrets, and thought he should be able to gain his cause without obligation to me for my assistance. Notwithstanding all his great qualities, his marking characteristic certainly was, that of sacrificing every thing to his private views, and especially to his covetousness, which was so great, that even at this time of life, though his fortune amounted to a million and a half, he did not spend per day, more than thirty kreutzers.

No sooner was it known that I had forsaken Trenck, than general count Lowenwalde, his most ardent ene-

my, and president of the first council of war, by which he had been condemned, desired to speak to me, promised every sort of good fortune and protection, if I would discover what means had secretly been employed in the revision of the process; and went so far as to offer me four thousand florins if I would aid a prosecution against my cousin. The proposal I rejected with disdain, and rather determined to seek my fortune in the East-indies than continue in a country, where, under the bosom of queens the most loyal of subjects and first of soldiers might be rendered miserable, by interested, angry, and corrupt courtiers. Certain it is, as I now can prove, that Trenck, though the bitterest of my enemies, and whose conduct towards me merited my whole resentment, was the best soldier in the Austrian army, had been liberal of his blood and fortune in the imperial service, and would so have continued, had not his wealth and his contempt for Weber and Lowenwalde, put him in the power of those wretches, who were the avowed enemies of courage and patriotism, and who only can maintain their authority, and satiate their thirst of gain by the base and wicked arts of courts.

I was resolved for ever to forsake Vienna. The friends of Trenck all became distrustful of him, because of his ingratitude to me. Prince Charles still endeavoured to persuade me to a reconciliation, and gave me a letter of recommendation to general Brown, who then commanded the Imperial army in Italy. But more desirous of going to India, I left Vienna in August, 1748, and went for Holland.

At Nuremberg I met with a body of Russians, commanded by general Lieuwen, my mother's relation, who were marching to the Netherlands, and were the peace-makers of Europe. Major Iuschkow, whom I had known when a Russian resident at Vienna, prevailed on me to visit him, and presented me to the general. I pleased him, and may say with truth, he behaved to me like a friend and a father. He advised me to enter into the Russian service, and gave me a company of dragoons in the regiment of Tobolski on condition I should not leave him, but employ myself in his cabinet; and his confidence and esteem for me were unbounded.

Peace followed; the army returned to Moravia without firing a musket, and the head quarters were fixed at Prosnitz.

In this town a public entertainment was given by general Lieuwen, on the coronation day of the empress Elizabeth.

The army physician on this day kept a faro bank for the entertainment of the guests. My stock of money consisted of two and twenty ducats. Thirst of gain, or perhaps example, induced me to venture two of these, which I immediately lost, and very soon by venturing again to regain them, the whole two and twenty. Chagrined at my folly I returned home: I had nothing but a pair of pistols left, for which, because of their workmanship, general Woyekow had offered me twenty ducats. These I took, intending by their aid, to attempt to retrieve my loss. Firing of guns and pistols was heard throughout the town, because of the festival, and I in imitation of the rest, went to the window and fired mine. After a few discharges one of my pistols burst, and endangered my own hand and wounded my servant. I felt a momentary despondency, stronger than I ever remembered to have experienced before; insomuch, that I was half induced with the remaining pistol to shoot myself through the head. I however recovered my spirits, asked my servant what money he had, and received from him three ducats. With these I repaired like a desperate gamester once more to the faro table at the general's, again began to play, and so extraordinary was my run of luck, I won at every venture. Having recovered my principal, I played on my winnings, till at last I had absolutely broke the doctor's bank; a new bank was set up, and I won the greatest part of this likewise, so that I brought home about six hundred ducats.

Rejoiced at my good fortune, but recollecting my danger, I had the prudence to make a solemn resolution, never more to play at any game of chance, to which I have ever strictly adhered.

It were to be wished young men would reflect upon the effects of gaming, remembering that the love of play has made the most promising and virtuous miserable; the honest, knaves; and the sincere deceivers and

liars. Officers, having first lost all their own money, being intrusted with the soldiers' pay, have next lost that also; and thus been cashiered and eternally disgraced. I might at Prosnitz have been equally rash and culpable. The first venture, whether the gamester wins or loses, ensures a second; and with that too often destruction. My good fortune was almost miraculous, and my subsequent resolution very uncommon; and I entreat and conjure my children, when I shall no longer be living to advise and watch for their welfare, most determinedly to avoid play. I seemed preserved by Providence from this evil but to endure much greater.

General Lieuwen my kind patron, sent me from Krakow to conduct a hundred and forty sick men down the Vistula to Dantzic, where there were Russian vessels to receive and transport them to Riga.

I requested permission of the general to proceed forward and visit my mother and sister, whom I was very desirous to see: at Elbing therefore I resigned the command to lieutenant Platen, and attended by a servant, rode to this bishopric of Emerland, where I had appointed an interview with them in a frontier village.

The Prussians some days before had carried off a peasant's son from this village as a recruit. The people were all in commotion. I wore spatterdashies, and the blue horse uniform of Russia.—They took me for a Prussian at the door, and fell upon me with every kind of weapon. A chasseur who happened to be there, and the landlord, came to my assistance, while I battling with the peasants, had thrown two of them down. I was delivered, but not till I had received among others two violent bruises, one on the left arm, and another which broke the bridge of my nose. The landlord advised me to escape as fast as possible, or that the village would rise and certainly murder me: my servant therefore, who had retired for defence with a pair of pistols into the bake-house, got ready the horses, and we rode off.

I had my bruises dressed at the next village; my hand and eyes were extremely swelled, but I was obliged to ride two miles farther to the town of Anger, before I could find an able surgeon, and here I was for

far recovered in a week, that I was able to return to Dantzic. My brother visited me while at Ressel; but my good mother had the misfortune as she was coming to me, to be thrown out of her carriage, by which her arm was broken, so that she and my sister were obliged to return, and I never saw her more.

At Dantzic I became acquainted with a Prussian officer whose name I shall conceal, out of respect to his very worthy family: he visited me daily, and we often rode out together in the neighbourhood.

My faithful servant became acquainted with his, and my astonishment was indeed great, when he one day said to me with anxiety, "Beware, Sir, of a snare laid for you by lieutenant N——; he means to entice you out of town, and deliver you up to the Prussians." I asked him where he learned this; "From the lieutenant's servant," answered he, "who is my friend, and wishes to save me from misfortune."

I now with the aid of a couple of ducats discovered the whole affair; and learned it was agreed between the Prussian resident Reimer, and the lieutenant, that the latter should entice me into the suburb of Langfuhr, where there was an inn on the Prussian territories: here eight recruiting under-officers were to wait concealed, and seize me the moment I entered the house, hurry me into a carriage, and drive away for Lauenberg in Pomerania. Two under-officers were to escort me on horseback as far as the frontiers, and the remainder to hold, and prevent me from calling for help, so long as we should remain on the territories of Dantzic.

I further learned, my enemies were only to be armed with sabres, and that they were to wait behind the door. The two officers on horseback were to secure my servant, and prevent him from riding off and raising an alarm.

Lieutenant N—— came about noon to dine with me as usual; was more pensive and serious than I had ever observed him before, and left me at four in the afternoon, after having made me promise to ride early next day with him as far as Langfuhr. I observed my consent gave him great pleasure, and my heart then pronounced sentence on the traitor. The moment he had left me, I went to the Russian resident M. Scheerer;



an honest Swiss, related the whole conspiracy, and asked if I might not take six of the men under my command for my own personal defence. I told him my plan, which he at first opposed; but seeing me obstinate, he answered at last, "Do as you please; I must know nothing of the matter, nor will I make myself responsible."

I immediately joined my soldiers, selected six men, and took them while it was dark opposite the Prussian inn, hid them in the corn with an order to run to my help with their firelocks loaded, the first discharge they should hear, to seize all who should fall into their power, and only to fire in case of resistance. I provided them with fire-arms, by concealing them in the carriage which brought them to their hiding-place.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, I still thought it necessary, to prevent surprise, by informing myself what were the proceedings of my enemies, lest my intelligence should have been false; and I learned from my spies, that at four in the morning the Prussian resident Reimer, had left the city with post-horses.

I loaded mine and my servant's horse and pocket pistols, prepared my Turkish sabre, and in gratitude to the lieutenant's man, promised to take him into my service, being convinced of his honesty.

The lieutenant cheerfully entered about six in the morning, expatiated on the fineness of the weather, and jocosely told me I should be very kindly received by the handsome landlady of Langfuhr.

I was soon ready: we mounted, and left the town attended by our servants. Some three hundred paces from the inn my worthy friend proposed that we should alight, and let our servants lead the horses, that we might enjoy the beauty of the morning. I consented; and having dismounted, observed his eyes sparkle with pleasure.

The resident Reimer was at the window of the inn; and called out as soon as he saw me, "Good morrow, captain, good morrow; come, come in, your breakfast is waiting." I sneering smiled, and told him I had not time at present. So saying I continued my walk; but my companion would force me to enter, took me by the arm and partly struggled with me; on which

losing all patience, I gave him a blow which almost knocked him down, and ran to my horses as if I meant to fly.

The Prussians instantly rushed from behind the door with clamour, to attack me. I fired at the first; my Russians sprang from their hiding-place, presented their pieces, and called *Stuy, stuy, yebinnamat*.

The terror of the poor Prussians may well be supposed. All began to run. I had taken care to make sure of my lieutenant, and was next running to seize the resident, but he had escaped out of the back door, with the loss only of his white periwig. The Russians had taken four prisoners, and I commanded them to bestow fifty strokes upon each of them, in the open street. An ensign, named Casseburg, having told me his name, and that he had been my brother's school-fellow, begged remission, and excused himself, on the necessity which he was under to obey his superiors. I admitted his excuses, and suffered him to go. I then drew my sword, and bade the lieutenant defend himself; but he was so confused, that after drawing his sword, he asked my pardon, laid the whole blame upon the resident, and had not the power to put himself upon his guard. I twice jerked his sword out of his hand, and at last, taking the corporal's cane, I exhausted my strength with beating him, without his offering the least resistance. I left him kneeling, saying to him—"Go, rascal! now, and tell your comrades, the manner in which Trenck punishes robbers on the high way."

The people had assembled round us, during the action, to whom I related the affair; and, the attack having happened on the territories of Dantzic, the Prussians were in danger of being stoned by the populace. I and my Russians marched off victorious, proceeded to the harbour, embarked, and three or four days after set sail for Riga.

I had eaten heartily before I went on board; a storm came on, I worked half the night to aid the crew, but at length became sea-sick, and went to lie down. Scarcely had I closed my eyes before the master came with the joyful tidings as he thought, that we were running for the port of Pillau. Far from pleasing, this to me was dreadful intelligence. I ran on deck, saw the harbour

right before me, and a pilot coming off. The sea must now either be kept in a storm, or I fall into the hands of the Prussians; for I was known to the whole garrison of Pillau.

I desired the captain to tack about and keep the sea, but he would not listen to me. Perceiving this, I flew to my cabin, snatched my pistols, returned, seized the helm, and threatened the captain with instant death if he did not obey. My Russians began to murmur; they were averse to encountering the dangers of the storm, but luckily, they were still more averse to meet my anger, overawed, as they were, by my pistols, and my two servants, who stood by me faithfully.

Half an hour after the storm began to subside, and we fortunately arrived the next day in the harbour of Riga. The captain, however, could not be appeased, but accused me before the old and honorable marshall Lacy then governor of Riga. I was obliged to appear, and replied to the charge by relating the truth. The governor answered, my obstinacy might have occasioned the loss of a hundred and sixty persons. I, smiling, retorted, "I have brought them all safe to port, please your excellency; and for my part, my fate would have been much more merciful, by falling into the hands of my God, than into the hands of my enemies. My danger was so great, that I forgot the danger of others; besides, sir, I knew my comrades were soldiers, and feared death as little as I do." My answer pleased the grey-headed general, and he gave me a recommendation to the chancellor Bestuchef, at Moscow.

I had not been long at Moscow before I met count Hamilton, my former friend during my abode at Vienna. He was captain of cavalry, in the regiment of general Bernes, who had been sent as Imperial ambassador to Russia.

Bernes had been ambassador at Berlin, in 1743, where he had, known me, during the height of my favour at the court of Frederic. Hamilton presented me to him, and I had the good fortune so far to gain his friendship, that, after a few visits, he endeavoured to detach me from the Russian service, offering me the strongest recommendations to Vienna, and a company in his own regiment. My cousin's misfortunes, however, had left

too deep an impression upon my memory, for me to follow his advice. The Indies would then have been preferred by me to Austria.

Bernes invited me to dine with him, in company with his bosom friend, lord Hyndford, the English ambassador. How great was the pleasure I that day received ! This eminent statesman had known me at Berlin, and was present when Frederic had honoured me with saying, *C'est un matador de ma jeunesse*. He was well read in men, conceived a good opinion of my abilities, and became a friend and father to me. He seated me by his side at table, and asked me, "Why came you here, Trenck ?" "In search of bread and honor, my lord, answered I, "having unmeritedly lost them both in my country." He farther inquired the state of my finances ; I told him my whole store might be some thirty ducats.

"Take my counsel," said he : "you have the necessary qualifications to succeed in Russia ; but the people here despise poverty, judge from the exterior only, and do not include services or talents in the estimate ; you must have the appearance of being wealthy. I and Bernes will introduce you into the best families, and will supply you with the necessary means of support. Splendid liveries, led horses, diamond rings, deep play, a bold front, undaunted freedom with statesmen, and gallantry among the ladies, are the means by which foreigners must make their way in this country. Avail yourself of them, and leave the rest to us." This lesson lasted some time. Bernes entered in the interim, and they determined mutually, to contribute towards my promotion.

I was now introduced into all companies, not as a foreigner who came to intreat employment, but as the heir of the house of Trenck, and its rich Hungarian possessions, and as the former favourite of the Prussian monarch.

Scarcely had I been six weeks in this city, when dining one public day, with lord Hyndford, I was seated beside a charming young lady, of one of the best families in Russia, who had been promised in marriage, tho' only seventeen, to an old invalid minister. Her eyes soon told me she thought me preferable to her intended bridegroom. I understood then, lamented her hard fate,

and was surpris'd to hear her exclaim, "O heavens! that it were possible you could deliver me from my misfortune! I would engage to do whatever you direct."

The impression such an appeal must make on a man of four and twenty, of a temperament like mine, may easily be supposed. The lady was ravishingly beautiful; her soul was candour itself, and her rank that of a princess; but the court's commands had already been given in favour of the marriage; and flight, with all its inseparable dangers was the only expedient. A public table was no place for long explanations. Our hearts were already one. I requested an interview, and the next day was appointed, the place, the Trotzer garden, where I passed three rapturous hours in her company; thanks to her woman who was a Georgian. To escape, however, from Moscow was impossible. The distance thence to any foreign country, was too great. The court was not to remove to Petersburg till the next spring, and her marriage was fixed for the first of August. The misfortune was not to be remedied, and nothing was left us but patience perforce. We could only resolve to fly from Petersburg, when there, the soonest possible, and take refuge in some corner of the earth, where we might remain unknown of all. The marriage, therefore, was celebrated with pomp, though I, in despite of forms, was the true husband of the princess. Such was the state of the husband imposed upon her, that to describe it, and not give disgust, were impossible.

The princess gave me her jewels, and several thousand rubles, which she had received as a nuptial present, that I might purchase every thing necessary for flight: my evil destiny, however, had otherwise determined. I was playing at ombre with her one night, at the house of the countess of Bestuchef, when she complained of a violent head-ach, appointed me to meet her on the morrow, in the Trotzer gardens, clasped my hand with inexpressible emotion, and departed. Alas! I never beheld her more, till stretched upon her bier!

She grew delirious that very night, and so continued till her death, which happened on the sixth day, when the small pox began to appear. Amidst her distraction, she had discovered our love, and incessantly called upon

me to deliver her from her tyrant. Thus, in the flower of her age, perished one of the most lovely women I ever knew, and with her fled all I held most dear.

All my plans were now to be new arranged.—Lord Hyndford, alone, was in the secret, for I hid no secrets from him. He strengthened me in my first resolution, and owned, that he himself, for such a mistress, might, perhaps, have been weak enough to have acted as I had done. Almost as much moved as myself, he sympathised with me like a friend, and his advice deterred me from ending my miseries, and descending with her, whom I had loved, and lost, to the grave. This was the severest trial I had ever felt. Our affection was unbounded, and such only as noble hearts can feel. She being gone the whole world became a desert. There is not a man on earth, whose life affords more various turns of fate than mine.—Swiftly raised to the highest pinnacle of hope, as suddenly was I cast headlong down; and so remarkable were these revolutions, that he, who has read my history, will at last find it difficult to say, whether he envies or pities me most: and yet these were, in reality, but preparatory to the evils that hovered over my devoted head. Had not the remembrance of past joys soothed and supported me, under my sufferings, I certainly should not have endured the ten years torture of the Magdeburg dungeon, with a fortitude that might have been worthy even of Socrates.

Enough of this. My blood again courses swifter thro' my veins as I write! Rest, gentle maiden, noble and lovely as thou wert! For thee ought heaven to have united a form so fair, animated as it was, by a soul so pure, to ever blooming youth and immortality.

Her gifts to me amounted, in value, to about seven thousand ducats. Lord Hyndford and count Bernes, both adjudged them legally mine, and well am I assured her heart had bequeathed me much more.

To this event succeeded another, by which my fortune was greatly influenced. The countess of Bessuchef was then the most amiable and witty woman at court. Her husband, cunning, selfish, but shallow, had the name of minister, while she, in reality, governed with a genius at once daring and comprehensive. The too

pliant Elizabeth, carelessly left the most important things to the direction of others. Thus, the countess was the first person of the empire, and on whom the attention of all the foreign ministers were fixed.

Haughty and majestic in demeanor, she was supposed to be the only woman at court who continued faithful to her husband; which supposition, probably originated in her art and education, she being a German born; for I afterward found her virtue was only pride, and a knowledge of the national character. The Russian lover rules despotic over his mistress; requires money, submission, and, should he meet opposition, threatens her with blows and the discovery of her secret.

During Elizabeth's reign, foreigners could neither appear at Court, nor in the best company, without the introduction of Bestuchef. I, and Sievers, gentlemen of the chamber, were, at that time, the only Germans who had free egress and regress in all houses of fashion; my being protected by the English and Austrian ambassadors, gave me very peculiar advantages, and made my company every where courted.

Bestuchef had been resident, during the late reign, at Hamburg, in which inferior station he married the countess, at that time, though young and handsome, only the widow of the merchant Boettger. Under Elizabeth, Bestuchef rose to the summit of rank and power, and the widow Boettger became the first lady in the empire.—When I knew her, she was eight and thirty, consequently, no beauty, though a woman highly endowed in mind and manners, of keen discernment, disliking the Russians, protecting the Prussians, and at whose aversion all trembled.

Her carriage towards the Russians was, what it must be in her situation, lofty, cautious, and ironical rather than kind. To me she showed the utmost esteem on all occasions, welcomed me to her table, and often admitted me to drink coffee, in company with herself alone, and Colonel Oettinger. The countess never failed giving me to understand, she had perceived my love for the princess N——; and, though I constantly denied the fact, she related circumstances which she could have known as I thought, only from my mistress herself. My silence pleased her; for the Russians, when

a lady has a partiality for them, never fail to vaunt of their good fortune. She wished to persuade me she had observed us in company, had read the language of our eyes, and had long penetrated our secret. I was ignorant at that time that she then and had long before, entertained the maid of my mistress as a spy in her pay.

About a week after the death of the princess, the countess invited me to take coffee with her in her chamber; lamented my loss and the violence of that passion which had deprived me of all my customary vivacity, and altered my very appearance. She seemed so interested in my behalf, and expressed so many wishes, and so ardent, to better my fate, that I could no longer doubt. Another opportunity soon happened which confirmed these my suspicions: her mouth confessed her sentiments. Discretion, secrecy, and fidelity, were the laws she imposed; and never did I experience a more ardent passion from woman. Such was her understanding and penetration, she knew how to rivet my affections.

Caution was the thing most necessary. She contrived however to make opportunity. The chancellor valued, confided in me, and employed me in his cabinet: so that I remained whole days in his house. My captainship of cavalry was now no longer thought of: I was destined to political employment. My first was to be gentleman of the chamber, which in Russia is an office of importance, and the prospect of futurity became to me most resplendent. Lord Hyndford, ever the repository of my secrets, counselled me, formed plans for my conduct, rejoiced at my success, and refused to be reimbursed the expence he had been at, though now my circumstances were prosperous.

The degree of credit I enjoyed soon was noticed: foreign ministers began to pay their court to me. Goltz, the Prussian minister, made every effort to win me, but found me incorruptible.

The Russian alliance was at this time highly courted by foreign powers: the humbling of Prussia was the thing generally wished and planned; and nobody was better informed than myself of ministerial and family factions at this court.



My mistress a year after my acquaintance with her, fell into her enemies' power, and with her husband, was delivered over to the executioner. Chancellor Bestuchef, in the year 1756, was forced to confession by the knout. Apraxim, minister of war had a similar fate. The wife of his brother, then envoy in Poland, was by the treachery of a certain lieutenant Berger, with three others of the first ladies of the court, knouted, branded, and had their tongues cut out. This happened in the year 1741, when Elizabeth ascended the throne. Her husband however faithfully served; I knew him as Russian envoy at Vienna in 1751. This may indeed be called the love of our country, and thus does it happen to the first men of the state: what then can a foreigner hope for if persecuted, and in the power of those in authority\*?

No man in so short a space of time, had greater opportunities than I to discover the secrets of state; especially when guided by Hyndford and Bernes, under the reign of a well-meaning, but short-sighted empress, whose first minister was a weak man, directed by the will of an able and ambitious wife, and which wife loved me, a stranger, an acquaintance only of a few months, so passionately, that to this passion she would have sacrificed every other object. She might in fact be considered as empress of Russia, disposing of peace or war; and had I been more prudent, or less sincere, I might in such a situation, have amassed treasures, and deposited them in full security. Her generosity was boundless; and though obliged to pay above a hundred thousand rubles in one year, to discharge her son's debts, yet might I have saved a still larger sum; but half of the gifts she obliged me to receive, I lent to this son and lost. So far was I from selfish, and so negligent of wealth, that by supplying the wants of others, I often, on a reverse of fortune, suffered want myself.

\* There is a confusion of dates, as well as facts in the above paragraph. Perhaps there may be some error of the press, and the baron's long imprisonment, and the advanced age in which he wrote, might both, or either, lead to mistakes. The baron's chronology, even of himself, is throughout very inaccurate. T.

My splendid success in Russia displeased the great Frederic, whose persecution every where attended me, and who supposed his interest injured by my success in Russia. The incident I am going to relate, was at the time it happened, well known to, and caused much agitation among all the foreign ambassadors.

Lord Hyndford desired I would make him a fair copy of the plan of Cronstadt, for which he furnished the materials, with three additional drawings of the various ships in the harbour, and their names. There was neither danger nor suspicion attending this; the plan of Cronstadt being no secret, but publicly sold in the shops of Petersburg. England was likewise then in the closest alliance with Russia. Hyndford showed the drawing to Funk the Saxon envoy, his intimate friend, who asked his permission to copy it himself. Hyndford gave him the plan signed with my name, and after Funk had been some days employed in copying it, the Prussian minister Goltz, who lived in the neighbourhood, came in, as he frequently paid him friendly visits. Funk unsuspectingly showed him my drawing, and both lamented that Frederic had lost so useful a subject. Goltz asked to borrow it for a couple of days, in order to correct his own; and Funk, one of the worthiest, most honest, and least suspicious of men, who loved me like a brother, accordingly lent the plan.

No sooner was Goltz in possession of it, than he hurried to the chancellor, with whose weakness he was well acquainted; told him his intent in coming was to prove, that a man who had once been unfaithful to his king and country, where he had been loaded with favours, would certainly betray for his own private interest, every place where he was trusted. He continued his preface by speaking of the rapid progress I had made in Russia, and the free entrance I had found in the chancellor's house, where I was received as a son, and initiated in the secrets of the cabinet.

The chancellor defended me; till at last Goltz took my plan of Cronstadt from his pocket and added, "Your excellency is nourishing a serpent in your bosom. This drawing I have received from Trenck, copied from your cabinet designs for two hundred ducats." He knew I was employed there sometimes with Ger-

finger, whose office it was to inspect the buildings and repairs of all the Russian fortifications. Bestuchef was astonished; his anger became violent, and Goltz added fuel to the flame by insinuating, I should not be so powerfully protected by Bernes the Austrian ambassador, were it not to favour the views of his own court. Bestuchef mentioned prosecution and the knout. Goltz replied my friends were too powerful, my pardon would be procured, and the evil this way increased. They therefore determined to have me secretly secured, and privately conveyed to Siberia.

Goltz had scarcely left the place triumphant, when the chancellor entered into his lady's apartment, told her my conduct, and while she endeavoured to soothe him, related all that had passed. Her penetration was much deeper than her husband's: she perceived there was a plot against me; she indeed knew my heart better than any other, and particularly that I was not in want of a poor two hundred ducats. She could not, however appease him, and my arrest was determined. She therefore instantly wrote me a line to the following purport:—

“You are threatened dear friend by very imminent danger. Do not sleep to-night at home, but secure yourself at lord Hyndford's till you hear farther from me.”

Secretary S—n was sent with this note. He found me after dinner at the English ambassador's, and called me aside. I read the billet, was astonished at its contents, and showed it to lord Hyndford, who commanded me to remain in his house till we should make farther discovery.

We placed spies round the house where I lived: I was inquired for after midnight, and the lieutenant of the police came himself and searched the house.

Lord Hyndford went about ten in the morning to visit the chancellor, that he might obtain some intelligence, who immediately reproached him for having granted an asylum to a traitor. “What has this traitor done?” said Hyndford. “Faithlessly copied a plan of Cronstادت from my cabinet drawings,” answered the chancellor, “which he has sold to the Russian minister for two hundred ducats.”

Hyndford was astonished; he knew me well, and also knew that he had then, in money and jewels, more than eight thousand ducats of mine in his own hands; nor was he less ignorant of the little value I set on money, or of the sources whence I could obtain it when I pleased. "Has your excellency seen this drawing of Trenck's?" "Yes, I have been shown it by Goltz."—"I wish I might likewise be permitted to see it; I know Trenck's drawing, and make myself responsible that he is no traitor. Here is some mystery; be so kind as to desire M. Goltz will come and bring his plan of Cronstadr. Trenck is at my house, shall be forth coming instantly, and I will not protect him if he proves guilty."

The chancellor wrote to Goltz; but he, artful as he was, had no doubt taken care to be informed that the lieutenant of the police had missed his prey. He therefore sent an excuse, and did not appear. In the mean time I entered. Hyndford then addressed me with the openness of an Englishman and asked—"Are you a traitor, Trenck? if so, you do not merit my protection, but stand here a state prisoner. Have you sold a plan of Cronstadr to M. Goltz?" My answer may easily be supposed. Hyndford rehearsed what the chancellor had told him; I was desired to leave the room, and Funk was sent for. The moment he came in Hyndford said; "Sir, where is that plan of Cronstadr which Trenck copied?" Funk hesitating replied, "I will go for it." "Have you it," continued Hyndford, "at home? speak upon your honor." "No, my lord, I have lent it for a few days to M. Goltz, that he may take a copy."

Hyndford immediately then saw the whole affair, told the chancellor the history of this plan which belonged to him, and which he had lent to Funk, and requested a trusty person might be sent with him to make proper search. Bestuchef named his first secretary, and to him were added Funk and the Dutch envoy Schwart, who happened then to enter. All went together to the house of Goltz. Funk here demanded his plan of Cronstadr: Goltz gave it him, and Funk returned it to lord Hyndford.

The secretary and Hyndford both then desired he would produce the plan of Cronstadt, which he had bought of Trenck for two hundred ducats.—His confusion now was great, and Hyndford firmly insisted this plan should be forth-coming, to vindicate the honor of Trenck, whom he held to be an honest man. On this Goltz answered, “I have received my king’s commands to prevent the preferment of Trenck in Russia, and I have only fulfilled the duty of a minister.”

Hyndford spit on the ground, and said more than I now choose to repeat; after which the four gentlemen returned to the chancellor, and I was again called. Every body complimented me, related what had passed, and the chancellor promised I should be recompensed; strictly however forbidding me to take any revenge on the Prussian ambassador, I having sworn, in the first transports of anger, to punish him wherever I should find him, even were it at the altar’s foot.

I received a present of two thousand rubles the next day from the chancellor, with orders to thank the empress for this mark of her bounty, and accept it as a sign of her especial favour. I paid these my thanks some days after. The money I disregarded; but the amiable empress, by her enchanting benevolence made me forget the past.

The chancellor had greatly changed his carriage towards me, since the incident of the plan. He observed my looks and words, showed he was distrustful and desirous of revenge. His lady as well as myself remarked this, and new measures became necessary. I was obliged to act an artful, but at the same time a very dangerous part.

My cousin baron Trenck died in the Spielberg, October 4, 1749, and left me his heir, on condition I should only serve the house of Austria.—In March 1750, count Bernes received the citation sent me to enter on this inheritance. I would hear nothing of Vienna: the abominable treatment of my cousin terrified me. Bernes however represented that the property left me was worth much above a million; that the empress would support me in the pursuit of justice and that I had no personal enemy at Vienna, that a million of certain property in Hungary was much superior to the

highest expectations in Russia, where I myself had beheld so many changes of fortune, and the effects of family cabals.

Hyndford assured me of his eternal protection, and described London as a certain asylum, should I not find happiness at Vienna. He spoke of slavery as a Britain ought to speak. These reasonings at length determined me; but having plenty of money, I thought proper to take Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Holland, in my way; and Bernes was in the mean time to prepare me a favourable reception at Vienna. He desired also I would give him authority to get possession of the estates to which I was heir.

My mistress strongly endeavoured to detain me, but yielded at length to the force of reason. I tore myself away, and promised on my honor, to return as soon as I had arranged my affairs at Vienna.

From Moscow I travelled to Petersburg, where my effects in money and jewels amounted to about thirty-six thousand florins. After remaining a few days at Petersburg, I journeyed by land to Stockholm; taking with me letters of recommendation from all the foreign envoys.

At Stockholm I wanted for no recommendation: the queen, sister to the great Frederic, had known me at Berlin, when I had the honor as an officer of the body-guard, of accompanying her to Stetten. I related my whole history to her without reserve. She, from political motives, advised me not to make any stay in Stockholm, and to me continued till death an ever gracious lady. I proceeded to Copenhagen, where I had business to transact for M. Chalfe, the Danish envoy at Moscow; from whom also I had letters of recommendation. Here I had the pleasure of meeting my old friend lieutenant Bach, who had aided me in my escape from my imprisonment at Glatz. He was poor and in debt, and I procured him protection, by relating the noble manner in which he had behaved. I also presented him with five hundred ducats, by the aid of which he pushed his fortune. He wrote to me in the year 1776, a letter of sincerest thanks, and died a colonel of Hussars in the Danish service in 1779.

I remained in Copenhagen but a fortnight, and then sailed in a Dutch ship from Elsinour for Amsterdam. Scarcely had we put to sea before a storm arose, by which we lost a mast and our bowsprit, had our sails shattered, and were obliged to cast anchor among the rocks of Gottenburg, where our deliverance was singularly fortunate.

Here we lay nine days before we could make the open sea, and here I found a very pleasant amusement, by going daily in the ship's boat from rock to rock, attended by two of my servants, to shoot wild ducks and catch shell-fish; whence I every evening returned with provisions and sheep's milk, bought of the poor inhabitants for the ship's crew.

There was a dearth among these poor people. Our vessel was laden with corn; some of this I purchased, to the amount of some hundreds of Dutch florins, and distributed wherever I went. I also gave one of their ministers a hundred florins for his poor congregation, who was himself in want of bread, and whose annual stipend did not amount to one hundred and fifty florins.

In this employment, however, I had nearly lost my life. Returning from carrying corn, the wind arose, and drove the boat to sea. I not understanding the management of the helm, and the servant awkwardly handling the sails, the boat, in tacking, was overfet. The benefit of learning to swim I again experienced, and my faithful servant, who had gained the rock, aided me when almost spent. The good people, who had seen the shallop overfet, came off in their boats to my assistance. An honest Cahnuc whom I had brought from Russia, and another of my servants, perished. I saw the first sink after I had reached the shore.

The kind Swedes brought me on board, and also, righted and retured with the shallop. We weighed anchor, and sailed for the Texel, the mouth of which we saw, and the pilots coming off, when another storm rose, and drove us to the port of Bahus in Norway, into which we ran without farther damage. In some few days we again set sail, with a fair wind, and, at length reached Amsterdam.

I was a spectator while the harpooners belonging to the whale-fishery were exercising themselves in darting

their harpoons, most of whom were drunk. One of them, Herman Rogaar by name, a hero among these people for his dexterity with his snickasnee, came up, and passed some of his coarse jokes upon my Turkish sabre, and offered to fillip me on the nose. I pushed him from me, and the fellow threw down his cap, drew his snickasnee, challenged me, called me monkey-tail, and asked me whether I chose a straight, a circular, or a cross cut.

Thus, here, was I, in this excellent company, with no choice but that of either fighting or running away. The robust Herculean grew more insolent, and I, turning round to the by-standers, asked them to lend me a snickasnee; "No, no," said the challenger, "draw your great knife from your side, and, long as it is, I will lay you a dozen ducats you get a gash in the cheek;" I drew; he confidently advanced with his snickasnee, and, at the first stroke of my sabre, that, and the hand that held it, both dropt to the ground, and the blood spouted in my face.

I now expected the people would, indubitably tear me to pieces; but my fear was changed into astonishment, at hearing a universal shout applauding the vanquisher of the redoubted Herman Rogaar, who, so lately feared for his strength and dexterity, became the object of their ridicule. A Jew spectator conducted me out of the croud, and the people, clamorously, followed me to my inn.

I left Amsterdam for the Hague, where I had been recommended to lord Holderness, the English ambassador, by lord Hyndford; to baron Reischach, by Bernes; to the Grand Pensionary Fagel, by Schwart; and, from the Chancellor, I had a letter to the Prince of Orange himself. I could not, therefore, but be received with all possible distinction. My ill fortune brought me letters from Count Bernes, assuring me that Heaven was at Vienna, and including a citation from the high court, requiring me to give in my claim of inheritance. Bernes farther informed me the Austrian court had assured him I should meet with all justice and protection, and advised me to hasten my journey, as the executors of the estates of Trenck was conducted but little to my advantage.



This advice I took, proceeded to Vienna, and, from that moment, all my happiness had an end.

One M. Schenck sought my acquaintance at the Hague. I met with him at my hotel, where he intreated I would take him to Nuremberg, whence he was to proceed to Saxony. I complied; and bore his expenses, but at Hanau, waking in the morning, I found my watch set with diamonds, a ring worth two thousand rubles, a diamond snuff-box, and my purse, containing about eighty ducats, stolen from my bed side, and Schenck become invisible. The rascal had escaped, and it was fortunate that the remainder of my ready money, with my bills of exchange, were safely locked up.

I now pursued my journey, without company, and arrived in Vienna.

Francis Baron-Trenck died, in the Spielberg, October 4, 1749. He had committed no offence against the state, was accused of none, much less convicted. The court sentence was, that the administration of his estate should be committed to counsellor Kempf and baron Peyaczewitz; who were selected by himself, and the accounts of his stewards and farmers were to be sent him yearly. He continued, till his death, to have the free and entire disposal of his property.

I will now show how I have been deprived of this valuable inheritance, while I have been obliged to pay about sixty thousand florins, to defray legacies he left.

The father of baron Trenck, who died in the year 1743, governor of Leitschan, in Hungary, named me, in his will, the successor of his son, should he die without heirs male.

This will was sent to be proved, according to form, at Vienna, after having been authenticated, in the most legal manner in Hungary. The court called Hofkriegsrath, at Vienna, neglected to provide a curator, for the security of the next heir; yet this could not annul my right of succession. When Trenck succeeded his father, he entered no protest to this his father's will, therefore dying without children, in the year 1749, my claim was indisputable. I was heir, had he made no will; and even in case of confiscation, my title to his father's estates still remained valid.

## THE LIFE OF

Trenck knew this but too well; he knew I was the legal claimant to his father's estates. The property he himself had gained was consigned to administrators, but hundred thousand florins had been expended in law suits, and sixty-three suits continued, actually, pending against him in court; the legacies he bequeathed amounted to eighty thousand florins. These he saw could not be paid, should I claim nothing more than the paternal inheritance; he therefore named me his universal heir, on the following conditions:

First, I was to become a Catholic.

Secondly, I was to serve only the house of Austria; and,

Lastly,—He made his whole estate, without excepting the paternal inheritance, a *Fidei commissum*.

His death, believed in Vienna to be miraculous, happened after the following manner: and by this he had seduced many weak people, who really believed him a saint, to further his views.

Three days before his death, while in perfect health, he desired the governor of the Spielberg to send for his confessor, for that Saint Francis had revealed to him, he should be removed into life everlasting, on his birthday, at twelve o'clock. The capuchin was sent for; at the prediction laughed at.

The day, however, after the departure of his confessor, he said, "Praise be to God, my end approaches; my confessor is dead, and has appeared to me." Strange as it may seem, it was actually found to be true, that the priest was dead. He now had all the officers of the garrison of Brunn assembled, tonsured his head like a capuchin, took the habit of the order, publicly confessed himself, in a sermon of an hour's length, exhorted them all to holiness, acted the part of a most exemplary penitent, embraced all present, spoke with a simple insignificance of all earthly possessions, took his leave, knelt down to prayers, slept calmly, rose, prayed again, and, about eleven in the forenoon, October 4th, taking his watch in his hand, said, "Thanks be to my God, my last hour approaches." All laughed at such a piece of folly from a man of such a character; yet they remarked that the left side of his face grew pale. He then leaned his arm on the table, prayed, and remained mo-

tionless, with his eyes closed. The clock struck twelve—no signs of life or motion could be discovered; they spoke to him, and found he was really dead.

The word miracle was echoed through the whole country, and the transmigration of the Pandour Trenck, from earth to heaven, by Saint Francis, proclaimed. The clue to this labyrinth of miracles, known only to me, is truly as follows:

He possessed the secret of what is called the *acqua toffana*, and had determined on death. His confessor had been intrusted with all his secrets, and with promissory notes, which he wished to invalidate. I am perfectly certain that he had returned a promissory note of a great prince, given for two hundred thousand florins, which has never been brought to account. The confessor, therefore, was to be provided for, that Trenck might not be betrayed, and a dose of poison was given him before he set off for Vienna—his death was the consequence. He took similar means with himself and thus knew the hour of his exit: finding he could not become the first on earth, he wished to be adored as a saint in heaven. He knew he should work miracles when dead, because he ordered a chapel to be built, willed a perpetual mass, and bequeathed the capuchins sixty thousand florins.

Thus died this most extraordinary man in the thirty fourth year of his age, to whom nature had denied none of her gifts; who had been the scourge of Bavaria; the terror of France; and who had, with his supposed contemptible Pandours, taken above sixty thousand Prussian prisoners. He had lived a tyrant and enemy of men, and died a sanctified impostor.

Instead of profiting by the wealth Trenck had acquired, I expended a hundred and twenty thousand florins of my own money, including what devolved to me from my uncle, his father, in the prosecution of his suits. Trenck had paid two hundred ducats, to the tribunal of Vienna, in the year 1742, to procure its very reprehensible silence concerning a curator, to which I was sacrificed, as the new judges of this court refused to correct the error of their predecessors.

On my first audience no one could be received more kindly than I was by the empress queen. She spoke of

my deceased cousin with much emotion and esteem, promised me all grace and favour, and informed me of the particular recommendations she had received on my behalf from count Bernes. Finding sixty three causes hung over my head in consequence of the inheritance of Trenck, to obtain justice in any one of which at Vienna, would have employed the whole life of an honest man, I determined to renounce this inheritance, and claim only under the will, and as the heir of my uncle.

With this view I applied for, and obtained a copy of that will, with which I personally appeared, and declared to the court that I renounced the inheritance of Francis Trenck, would undertake none of his suits, nor be responsible for his legacies, and required only his father's estates, according to the legal will which I produced. Nothing could be more just or incontrovertible than this claim. What was my astonishment to be told in open court, that her majesty had declared I must either wholly perform the articles of the will of Trenck, or be excluded the entire inheritance. I ventured to remonstrate, but the will of the court was determined and absolute; I must become a Roman Catholic.

In this extremity, I bribed a priest, who gave me a signed attestation, "That I had abjured the cursed heresy of Lutheranism." My religion, however, remained what it had ever been. General Bernes, about this time, returned from his embassy, and I related to him the lamentable state in which I found my affairs. He spoke to the empress in my behalf, and she promised every thing. He advised me to have patience, to perform all that was required of me, and make myself responsible for the depending suits. Some family concerns obliged him, as he informed me, to make a journey to Turin, but his return would be speedy; he would then take the management of my affairs upon himself, and insure my good fortune in Austria. Bernes loved me as his son, and I had reason to hope from his assurance, I should be largely remembered in his will, which was the more propable, as he had neither child nor relations. He parted from me, like a father, with tears in his eyes; but he had scarcely been absent six weeks, before the news arrived of his death, which, if report may

be credited, was effected by poison, administered by a friend.

My ills were increased by a new accident. Soon after the departure of Bernes the Prussian minister taking me aside in the house of the Palatine envoy, M. Beckers, proposed my return to Berlin, assured me the king had forgotten all that was passed, was convinced of my innocence, that my good fortune would there be certain, and he pledged his honor to recover the inheritance of Trenck.

Having rejected the proposition of the Prussian envoy, all my hopes in Vienna were ruined; for Frederic, by his residents and emissaries, knew how to effect whatever he pleased in foreign courts, and determined that the Trenck who would no longer serve or confide in him, should at least find no opportunity of serving against him: I soon became painted to the empress as an arch heretic, who never would be faithful to the house of Austria, and only endeavoured to obtain the inheritance of Trenck, that he might devote himself to Prussia.

I was now obliged to declare myself heir, but always *cum reservatione juris mei*, not as simply claiming under the will of Francis Trenck. I was obliged to take upon myself the management of the sixty three suits: I only received from the whole estate of Trenck three thousand six hundred florins in three years, which were scarcely sufficient to defray the expence of new-year's gifts to the solicitors and masters in chancery. How did I labour in stating and transcribing proofs for the court! The money I possessed soon vanished. My Prussian relations supported me, and the countess Bestuchef sent me four thousand rubles. I had also remittances from Prussia, and in addition, was obliged to borrow money at the usurious rate of sixty per cent. Bewildered as I was among lawyers and knaves, my ambition still prompted me to proceed; but my property was expended, and at length I could only obtain that the contested estates should be made a *Fidei commissum*, or put under trust, whereby, though they were protected from being the further prey of others, I did not inherit them as mine.

In three years, however, I brought my sixty three suits to a kind of conclusion; the probability were, this could not have been effected in fifty. Exclusive of my assiduity, the means I took must not be told; it is sufficient that I here learnt what judges were, and thus am enabled to describe them to others.

For a few ducats the president's servant used to admit me into a closet where I could see every thing as perfectly as if I had myself been one of the council. This often was useful, and taught me to prevent evil, and often was I scarcely able to refrain bursting in upon this court.

Their appointed hour of meeting was nine in the morning, but they seldom assembled before eleven. The president then told his beads and muttered his prayers. Some one got up and harangued, while the remainder in pairs amused themselves with talking, instead of listening, after which the news of the day became the common topic of conversation, and the council broke up, the court being first adjourned some three weeks without coming to any determination.—This was called *judicium delegatum in causis Trenckianis*; and when at last they came to a conclusion, the sentence was such as I shall ever shudder at and abhor.

The real estates of Trenck, and the annual income of these was 60,000 florins, and contained more than two hundred villages and hamlets. The laws of Hungary require,

1st. That those who purchase estates shall obtain the royal consent.

2nd. That the seller shall possess and make over the right of property, together with that of transferring or alienating; and

3dly. That the purchaser shall be a native born, or have bought his naturalization.

In default of all or any of these, the Fiscus, on the death of the purchaser takes possession, repaying the purchase money, together with what can be shown to have been laid out in improvements, or the sum at which it stands rated in the fiscal register.

Without form or notice the Hungarian Fiscal president, count Grassalkowitz, took possession of all the Trenck estates on his decease in the name of the Fiscus.

The prize was great, not so much because of the estates themselves, as the personal property upon them. Trenck had sent loads of merchandize to his estates, of linen, ingots of gold and silver, from Bavaria, Allatia, and Silesia.—He had a vast store-house of arms and of saddles, also the great silver service of the emperor Charles VII. which he had brought from Munich, with the service of plate of the King of Prussia, and the personal property of these states was affirmed, considerably to exceed in value the estates themselves.

I was not long since informed by one of the first generals, whose honor is undoubted, that several waggons were loaded with these rich effects and sent to Mihalefze. His testimony was indubitable; he knew the two pandours who were the confidants of Trenck, and the keepers of his treasures, and these during the general plunder, each seized a bag of pearls, and fled to Turkey, where they became wealthy merchants. His rich studs of horses were taken, and the very cows driven off the farms. His stand of arms consisted of more than three thousand rare pieces. Trenck had affirmed he had sent linen to the value of fifty thousand florins, in chests from Dannhausen and Gerfsdorf in the county of Glatz to his estates; the pillage was general, and when orders came to send all the property of Trenck, and deliver it to its universal heir, nothing remained that any person would accept. I have myself seen in a certain Hungarian nobleman's house some valuable arms which I positively knew I had been robbed of; and I bought at Esseck some silver plates, on which were the arms of Prussia, that had been sold by counsellor D——n, who had been empowered to take possession of these estates, and had thus rendered himself rich. Of this I procured an attestation, and proved the theft: I complained aloud at Vienna, but received an order from the court to be silent, under pain of displeasure, and also to go no more into Sclavonia.—The principal reason of my loss of the landed property in Hungary, was my having dared to make enquiries concerning the personal, not one guinea of which was ever brought to account. I then proved my right to the family estates left by my uncle, beyond all dispute, and also of those purchased by my cousin. The commissi-

oners appointed to enquire into these rights, even confirmed them, yet, after they had been thus established, I received the following order from the court, in the hand of the empress herself: "The president count Graffalkowitz, takes it upon his conscience, that the Slavonian estates do not descend to Trenck, *in natura*, he must therefore receive the *summa emptitia & inscriptitia*, together with the money he can show to have been expended in improvements."

And herewith ended my pleadings, and my hopes—I had sacrificed my property, laboured through sixty three inferior suits, and lost this great cause without a trial. I could have remained satisfied with the loss of the personal property: the booty of a soldier, like the wealth amassed by a minister, appears to be little better than a public robbery; but the acquirements of my ancestors, which descended to me by right, I could not be deprived of without excessive cruelty.

The president, it is true, did not immediately possess himself of the estates, but he took good care his friends should have them at such rates, that the sale of them did not bring the Fiscal treasury 150,000 dollars; while I in real and personal property, lost a million and a half; nay, probably a sum equal to this in personal property alone.

The *summa inscriptitia & emptitia*, for all these great estates only amounted to 149,000 florins, and this was to be paid by the chamber, but the president thought proper to deduct 10,000, on pretence the cattle had been driven off the estate of Pakratz; and further, 36,000 more, under the shameful pretence that Trenck, to recruit his pandours, had drained the estates of 3600 vassals, who had never returned: the estates therefore must make them good at the rate of thirty florins per head, which would have amounted to 108,000 florins; but with much difficulty this sum was reduced, as above stated, to 36,000 florins, each vassal reckoned at ten florins per head. Thus was I obliged, from the property of my family, to pay for 3600 men who had gloriously died in war, in defence of the contested rights of the great Maria Theresa; who had raised so many millions of contributions from her in the countries of her enemies: who sword in hand had



stormed and taken so many towns, and dispersed or taken prisoners so many thousand of her foes.

All deductions made for legacies, fees, and formalities, there remained to me 63,000 florins, with which I purchased the lordship of Zwerbach, and I was obliged to pay six thousand florins for my naturalization. Thus, when the sums are enumerated, which I expended on the suits of Trenck, received from my friends at Berlin and Petersburg, it will be found that I cannot at least have been a gainer by having been made the universal heir of the immensely rich Trenck.

I will here add a few particulars which may give a picture of the manner in which the prosecution was carried on against Trenck.

One Schygrai a silly kind of beggarly baron, who was treated as a buffoon, was invited in the year 1743 to dine with baron Pejaczewitz, when Trenck happened to be present. The conversation happened to turn on brandy, and Trenck jocularly said he annually distilled brandy from cow-dung, to the amount of thirty thousand florins.—Schygrai supposed him serious, and wished to learn the art, which Trenck promised to teach him. Pejaczewitz told him he could give him thirty thousand load of dung. "But where shall I get the wood?" said Schygrai. "I will give you 20,000 klafters," answered Trenck. The credulous baron thinking himself very fortunate, desired written promises, which they gave him; and that of Trenck thus: "I hereby permit and empower baron Schygrai to sell gratis, in the forest of Tscherra Horra, thirty thousand klafters of wood: Witness my hand; TRENCK."

Trenck was no sooner dead, than the baron brought his note, and made application to the court. His attorney was the noted Buffy, and the court decreed the estates of Trenck should pay at the rate of one florin thirty kreutzers per klafter, or forty-five thousand florins, with all costs, and an order was given the administrators to pay the money.

Just at this time I arrived at Vienna, from Petersburg. Doctor Berger, the advocate of Trenck, told me the affair would admit of no delay. I hastened to the empress, and obtained an order to delay payment. An enquiry was instituted, and this forest of Tscherra Horra

was found to be situated in Turkey. The absurdity and injustice were flagrant, and it was revoked. I cannot say how much of these forty-five thousand florins the baron had promised to the noble judge, and the attorney. I only know that neither of them were punished. Had not some holidays luckily intervened, or had the attorney expected my arrival, the money would have been paid.

During Trenck's prosecution, an advertisement had appeared in the Vienna gazette, inviting all who had any demands or complaints against him, to appear, with the promise of a ducat a day; and it is here proper to add, that the sum of fifteen thousand florins were brought to account, and paid out of the estate of Trenck. For this shameful purpose some thousands of florins were paid, beside, to this species of claimants; and, though after examination, their pretensions all proved to be futile, and themselves were cast in damages, yet was none of this money ever refunded, or the false claimants punished. Again: Trenck was accused of having appropriated the money of the regiment to his own use, and treated as if convicted. After his death a considerable demand was, accordingly made. I happened, however, to meet with Ruckhardt, his quarter master, he, with asseverations, declared that, instead of being indebted to his regiment, the regiment was more than a hundred thousand florins indebted to him, advised me to get attestations from the captains, and assured me, he, himself, would give in a clear statement of the regiment's accounts.

I followed his advice, hastened to the regiment, and obtained so many proofs, that the quarter master of the regiment, who, in concurrence with the major, had in reality, pocketed the money, was imprisoned, and put in irons. What became of the thief, or the false witness afterwards, I know not: I only know that nothing was refunded, that the quarter-master found protectors, detained the money, and, some years after this vile action, purchased a commission. One instance more.

Trenck, to the corps of infantry he commanded, added a corps of hussars, which he raised, and provided with horses and accoutrements at his own expense. These hussars were disbanded after his death, and the

horses and accoutrements sold by auction. My demand on this account, was upwards of sixty thousand florins; to which I received neither money nor supply. He had also expended a hundred thousand florins, for raising and equipping his three thousand Pandours; in consequence of which a signed agreement had been given him, by government, that these hundred thousand florins should be repaid to his heir, or he, the heir, should receive the command of the regiment. The regiment, however, at his decease, was given to general Simschen, and as for the agreement, care was taken it should never come into my hands. Thus these hundred thousand florins were lost.

Yet it has been wickedly affirmed he was imprisoned in the Spielberg for having embezzled the regiments money.

With respect to the money that was to have been repaid for improvement of the estates, I must add, these estates were bought at a time when the country had been left desolate by the Turks, and the reinstatement of such places as had fallen into their hands, and the erecting of farm-houses, mills, stocking them with horses, cattle, and seed-corn according to my poor estimate, could not amount to less than eighty thousand florins; but I was forbidden to go into Sclavonia, and the president offered, as an indemnification, four thousand florins.—Every body was astonished, but he with the utmost coolness, told me, I must either accept this or nothing. The hearers of this sentence cast their eyes up to heaven, and pitied me. I remonstrated, and thereby only made the matter worse. Grief and anxiety occasioned me to take a journey into Italy, passing through Venice, Rome, and Florence.

On my return to Vienna, I, by a friendly interference in behalf of a woman, whose fears rather than guilt, had brought her into danger, became suspected myself, and the very officious officers of the police had me imprisoned, as a coiner, without the least grounds for any such accusation, except their own surmises. I was detained, unheard, nine days, and when having been heard, I had entirely justified myself, was again restored to liberty; public declaration was then made,

in the gazette, that the officers of the police had acted too precipitately.

This was the satisfaction granted, but this did not content me. I threatened the councillor by whom my character had been so aspersed; and the empress, condescending to mediate, bestowed on me a captainship of cavalry, in the Cordova Cuirassiers.

Discontent led me to join my regiment in Hungary.

Here I gained the applause of my colonel, count Bettöni, who himself told the empress, I, more than any other, had contributed to the forming of the regiment. It may well be imagined how a man like me; accustomed as I had been, to the first company of the first courts, must pass my time among the Carpathian mountains, where neither society nor good books were to be found, nor knowledge, of which I was enamoured, improved. The conversation of count Bettöni, and the chase, together with the love of the general of the regiment, old field-marshal Cordova, were my only resources; the persecutions, neglect, and even contempt, I received at Vienna, were still the same.

In the year 1754, and the month of March, my mother died in Prussia, and I requested permission of the court that held the inheritance of Trenck, as a *fidei commissum*, to take a journey to Dantzic, to settle some family affairs with my brothers and sister, my estates being confiscated. This permission was granted, and thither I went in May.

My principal intent, however, was a journey to Petersburg, there to seek the advice and aid of my friends, for law and persecution were not yet ended at Vienna, and my captain's pay and small income were scarcely sufficient to defray the charges of attornies and counsellors.

It is here most worthily of remark, that I was told by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick governor of Magdeburg, he had received orders to prepare my prison at Magdeburg, before I set out from Hungary.

Nay, more, it had been written from Vienna to Berlin, that the king must beware of Trenck, for that he would be at Dantzic at the time when the king was to visit his camp in Prussia.

I was immediately visited by my brothers and sister on my arrival at Dantzic, where we lived happy in each other's company during a fortnight, and an amicable partition was made of my mother's effects: my sister perfectly justified herself concerning the manner in which I was obliged to fly from her house in the year 1746; our parting was kind; and as a brother and sister ought to part.

Our only acquaintance in Dantzic was the Austrian resident M. Abramson, to whom I brought letters of recommendation from Vienna, and whose reception of us was polite even to extravagance.

This Abramson was a Prussian born, and had never seen Vienna, but obtained his then office by the recommendation of count Bestuchef, without security for his good conduct, or proof of his good morals, heart or head. He was in close connection with the Prussian resident Reimer, and was made the instrument of my ruin.

Scarcely had my brothers and sister departed, before I determined to make a voyage by sea to Russia. Abramson contrived a thousand artifices, by which he detained me a week longer in Dantzic, that he in conjunction with Reimer, might make the necessary preparations.

The king of Prussia had demanded that the magistrates of Dantzic should deliver me up, but this could not be done without offending the Imperial court, I being a commissioned officer in that service, with proper passports: it was therefore probable that this negotiation required letters should pass and repass: and for this reason, Abramson was employed to detain me some days longer, till by the last letters from Berlin the magistrates of Dantzic were induced to violate public safety and the laws of nations. Abramson I considered as my best friend, and my person as in perfect security; he had therefore no difficulty in persuading me to stay.

The day of supposed departure on board a Swedish ship for Riga approached, and the deceitful Abramson promised me to send one of his servants to the port to know the hour. At four in the afternoon he told me he had himself spoken to the captain, who said he should not sail till the next day; adding that he, Abramson, would expect me to breakfast, and would then accom-

pany me to the vessel. I felt a secret inquietude, which made me desirous of leaving Dantzic, and immediately to send all my baggage and sleep on board. Abramson prevented me, dragged me almost forcibly along with him, telling me he had much company, and that I must absolutely dine and sup at his house: accordingly I did not return to my inn till eleven at night.

I was but just in bed when I heard a knocking at my door, which was not shut, and two of the city magistrates, with twenty grenadiers, entered my chamber, and surrounded my bed so suddenly that I had not time to take my arms and defend myself. My three servants had been secured, and I was told that the most worthy magistracy of Dantzic was obliged to deliver me up, as a delinquent to his majesty the king of Prussia.

They silently conducted me to the city prison, where I remained twenty four hours. About noon Abramson came to visit me, affected to be infinitely concerned and enraged, and affirmed he had strongly protested against the illegality of this proceeding to the magistracy, as I was actually in the Austrian service; but that they had answered him, the court of Vienna had afforded them a precedent, for that in the year 1752, they had done the same by the two sons of the burgomaster Rutenberg, of Dantzic, and that therefore they were justified in making reprisal; that likewise they durst not refuse the most earnest request, accompanied with threats of the king of Prussia.

The plea of retaliation originated as follows: There was a kind of club of Vienna, the members of which were seized for having committed the utmost extravagance and debauchery, two of whom were the sons of the burgomaster Rutenberg, and who were sentenced to the pillory. Great sums were offered by the father, to avoid this public disgrace, but ineffectually; they were punished, their punishment was legal, and had no similarity whatever to my case, nor could it any way justly give pretence of reprisal.

Abramson, who had in reality entered no protest whatever, but rather excited the magistracy, and acted in concert with Reimer, advised me to put my writings and other valuable effects into his hands, otherwise they would be seized. He knew I had received,

in letters of exchange from my brothers and sister, about seven thousand florins, and these I gave him, but kept my ring, worth about four thousand, and some sixty guineas which I had in my purse. He then embraced me, declared nothing should be neglected to effect my immediate deliverance, that even he would raise the populace for that purpose, that I could not be given up to the Prussians in less than a week, the magistracy being still undetermined in an affair so serious, and he left me, shedding abundance of crocodile tears, like the most affectionate of friends.

The next night two magistrates with their posse, came to my prison, attended by resident Reimer, a Prussian officer, and under-officers, and into their hands I was delivered.—The pillage instantly began; Reimer tore off my ring, seized my watch, snuff-box, and all I had, not so much as sending me a coat or shirt from my effects, after which they put me into a close coach with three Prussians. The Dantzic guard accompanied the carriage to the city gate, that was opened to let me pass, after which the Dantzic dragoons escorted me far as Lauenburg in Pomerania.

Thirty Prussian hussars, commanded by a lieutenant relieved the dragoons at Lauenburg, and thus was I escorted from garrison to garrison, till I arrived at Berlin.

Hence it was evidently falsely affirmed, by the magistracy of Dantzic, and the conspirator Abramson, who wrote in his own excuse to Vienna, that my seizure must be attributed wholly to my own imprudence, and that I had exposed myself to this arrest, by going without the city gates, where I was taken and carried off; nor is it less astonishing that the court of Vienna should not have demanded satisfaction for the treachery of the Dantzickers towards an Austrian officer, I having incontrovertibly proved this treachery after I had regained my liberty. Abramson indeed they could not punish, for during my imprisonment he had quitted the Austrian for the Prussian service, where he had gradually become so contemptible, that in the year 1746, when I was released from my imprisonment, he was himself imprisoned in the house of correction; and his wife lately so rich, was obliged to beg her bread.

Thus have I generally lived to see the fall of my betrayers ; and thus have I found, that without indulging personal revenge, virtue and fortitude must at length triumph over the calumniator and the despot.

I was escorted from garrison to garrison, which were distant from each other two, three, or at most, five miles: wherever I came I found compassion and respect. The detachment of hussars only attended me two days ; it consisted of twelve men and an officer, who rode with me in the carriage.

The fourth day I arrived at ———, where the duke of Wirtemberg, father of the present grand dutchess of Russia was commander, and where his regiment was in quarters. The duke conversed with me, was much moved, invited me to dine, and detained me all the day, where I was not treated as a prisoner. I so far gained his esteem that I was allowed to remain there the next day: the chief persons of the place were assembled, and the dutchess, whom he had lately married, testified every mark of pity and esteem. I staid dinner with him also on the third day ; after which I departed in an open carriage without escort, attended only by a lieutenant of his regiment.

I must relate this event circumstantially, for it not only proves the just and noble character of the duke, but likewise that there are moments in which the brave may appear cowards, the clear-sighted blind, and the wise foolish ; nay, one might almost be led to conclude from this, that my imprisonment at Magdeburg was the consequence of predestination, since I remained rivetted in stupor, in despair of suggestions, forebodings, and favourable opportunities. Who but must be astonished, having read the daring efforts I made at Glatz, at this strange insensibility, now in the very crisis of my fate ? I afterward was convinced it was the intention of the noble-minded duke, that I should escape, and that he must have given particular orders to the successive officers. He would probably have willingly subjected himself to the reprimands of Frederic, if I would have taken to flight. The journey through the places where his regiment was stationed continued five days, and I every where passed the evenings in the company of the officers, the kindness of whom was un-



bounded. I slept in their quarters without sentinels, and travelled in their carriages without other guard than a single officer in the carriage. In various places the high road was not more than two, and sometimes one mile from the frontier road, therefore nothing could have been easier than to have escaped; yet did the same Trenck, who in Glatz had cut his way through thirty men to obtain his freedom, that Trenck, who had never been acquainted with fear, now remain four days bewildered, and unable to come to any determination.

In a small garrison town I lodged in the house of a captain of cavalry, and continually was treated by him with every mark of friendship. After dinner he rode at the head of his squadron to water the horse unsaddled. I remained alone in the house, entered the stable, saw three remaining horses with saddles and bridles: in my chamber was a sword and a pair of pistols. I had but to mount one of the horses and fly at the opposite gate. I meditated on the project, and almost resolved to put it in execution, but presently became undetermined by some secret impulse. The captain returned some time after, and appeared surprised to find me still there. The next day he accompanied me alone in his carriage. We came to a forest; he saw some champignons, stopped, asked me to alight and help to gather them. He strayed more than a hundred paces from me, and gave me entire liberty to fly; yet, notwithstanding all this, I voluntarily returned, suffering myself to be led like a sheep to the slaughter.

I was treated so well, and escorted with so much negligence, that I fell into a gross error. Perceiving they conveyed me straight to Berlin, I imagined the king wished to question me concerning the plan formed for the war, which was then on the point of breaking out. This plan I perfectly knew, the secret correspondence of Bestuchef having all passed through my hands, which circumstance was much better known at Berlin than at Vienna. Confirmed in this opinion, and far from imagining the fate that awaited me, I remained irresolute, insensible, and blind to danger.

After four days march I quitted the district under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg, and was de-

livered up to the first garrison of infantry at Cöslin. The last of the Wirtemberg officers when taking leave of me, appeared to be greatly affected ; and from this moment till I came to Berlin, I was put under a strong escort, and the given orders were rigorously observed.

Arrived here, I was lodged over the grand guard-house with two sentinels in my chamber, and one at the door. The king was at Potsdam, and here I remained three days ; on the third some staff officers made their appearance, seated themselves at a table, and put the following questions to me.

First, What was my business at Dantzic ?

Secondly, Whether I was acquainted with M. Goltz, Prussian ambassador in Russia ?

Thirdly, Who was concerned with me in the conspiracy at Dantzic ?

When I perceived their intentions by these interrogations, I absolutely refused to reply, only saying I had been imprisoned in the fortress of Glatz without hearing or trial by court-martial ; that availing myself of the laws of nature, I had by my own exertions procured my liberty, and that I was now a captain of cavalry in the Imperial service ; that I demanded a legal trial for my first unknown offences, after which I engaged to answer all interrogatories and prove my innocence : but that at present, being accused of new crimes without a hearing concerning my former punishment, the procedure was illegal. I was told they had no orders concerning this, and I remained dumb to all further questions.

They wrote some two hours, God knows what. A carriage came up : I was strictly searched to find whether I had any weapons : thirteen or fourteen ducats which I had concealed were taken from me ; and I was conducted under a strong escort through Spandau to Magdeburg. The officers here delivered me up to the captain of the guard at the citadel : the town-major came and brought me to the dungeon expressly prepared for me. A small picture of the countess of Bessuchef, set with diamonds, which I had kept concealed in my bosom, was now taken from me : the door was shut, and here was I left.

My dungeon was in a casemate, the fore part of which six feet wide and ten feet long, was divided by a party wall. In the inner wall were two doors, and a third at the entrance of the casemate itself. The window in the seven feet thick wall was so situated, that though I had light, I could see neither heaven nor earth; I could only see the roof of the magazine. Within and without this window were iron bars, and in the space between an iron grating, so close and so situated by the rising of the walls, that it was impossible I should see any person without the prison, or that any person should see me. On the outside was a wooden palisadoc six feet from the wall, by which the sentinels were prevented from conveying any thing to me. I had a mattress and a bedstead, but which was immoveably ironed to the floor, so that it was impossible I should drag it and stand up to the window. Beside the door was a small iron stove and a night-table, in like manner fixed to the floor. I was not yet put in irons, and my allowance was a pound and a half per day of ammunition bread, and a jug of water.

From my youth I had always had a good appetite, and my bread was so mouldy I could scarcely at first eat the half of it. This was the consequence of major Rieding's avarice, who endeavoured to profit even by this, so great was the number of unfortunate prisoners; therefore it is impossible I should describe to my reader the excess of tortures, that during eleven months I felt from ravenous hunger. I could easily every day have devoured six pounds of bread; and every twenty four hours after having received and swallowed my small portion, I continued as hungry as before I began, yet must wait another twenty-four hours for a new morsel. How willingly would I have signed a bill of exchange for a thousand ducats on my property at Vienna, only to have satiated my hunger on dry bread! For so extreme was it, that scarcely had I dropt into a sweet sleep, before I dreamed I was feasting at some table luxuriously loaded, where, eating like a glutton, the whole company were astonished to see me, while my imagination was heated by the sensation of famine. Awakened by the pains of hunger the dishes vanished, and nothing remained but the reality of my distress.

the cravings of nature were but inflamed ; my tortures prevented sleep, and looking into futurity, the cruelty of my fate suffered if possible increase, from imagining that the prolongation of pangs like these was insupportable. My hunger increased every day ; and, of all the trials of fortitude my whole life has afforded, this of eleven months was the most bitter.

Petitions, remonstrances, were of no avail ; the answer was—" We must give no more, such is the king's command."—The governor general Borek, born the enemy of man, replied, when I entreated at least to give me my fill of bread, " You have feasted often enough out of the service of plate taken from the king by your renck at the battle of Sorau ; you must now eat ammunition bread in your dirty kennel. Your empress makes no allowance for your maintainance, and you are unworthy of the bread you eat."

My three doors were kept ever shut, and I was left to such meditations as such feelings and such hopes might inspire. Daily about noon, once in twenty four hours, my pittance of bread and water was brought. The keys of all the doors were kept by the governor ; the inner door was not opened, but my bread and water were delivered through an aperture. The prison doors were opened only once a week, on a Wednesday, when the governor and town major, my hole having been first cleaned, paid their visit.

Having remained thus two months, and observed this method was invariable, I began to execute a project which I had formed, of the possibility of which I was convinced.

Where the night-table and stove stood, the floor was picked, and this paving extended to the wall that separated my casemate from the adjoining one, in which was no prisoner. My window was only guarded by a single sentinel ; I therefore soon found among those who successively relieved guard two kind-hearted fellows, who described to me the situation of my prison ; since I perceived I might effect my escape, could I but penetrate into the adjoining casemate, the door of which was not shut. Provided I had a friend and a boat waiting for me at the Elbe, or could I swim across that river, the confines of Saxony were but a mile distant.

I worked through the iron eighteen inches long, by which the night-table was fastened, and broke off the clinchings of the nails, but preserved their heads, that I might put them again in their places, and all might appear secure to my weekly visitors. This procured me tools to raise up the brick floor, under which I found earth. My first attempt was to work a hole through the wall seven feet thick, behind, and concealed by the night-table. The first layer was of brick. I afterwards came to large hewn stones. I endeavoured accurately to number and remember the bricks, both of the flooring and the wall; so that I might replace them, and all might appear safe. This having accomplished I proceeded.

The day preceding visitation all was carefully replaced, and the intervening mortar as carefully preserved; the whole had probably been whitewashed a hundred times; and that I might fill up all remaining interstices, I pounded the white stuff this afforded, wetted it, made a brush of my hair, then applied this plaister, washed it over that the colour might be uniform, and afterwards stripped myself and sat with my naked body against the place, by the heat of which it was dried.

While labouring I placed the stones and bricks upon my bedstead, and had they taken the precaution to come at any other time of the week, the stated Wednesday excepted, I had inevitably been discovered; but as no such ill accident befel me, in six months my Herculean labours gave me a prospect of success.

Means were to be found to remove the rubbish from my prison: all of which, in a wall so thick, it was impossible to replace: mortar and stone could not be removed. I, therefore, took the earth, scattered it about my chamber, and ground it under my feet the whole day, till I had reduced it to dust; this dust I strewed in the aperture of my window, making use of the loosened night-table to stand upon. I tied splinters from my bedstead together, with the ravelled yarn of an old stocking, and to this affixed a turf of my hair. I worked a large hole under the middle grating, which could not be seen when standing on the ground, and through this I pushed my dust with the tool I had prepared to then

outer window, then, waiting till the wind should happen to rise, during the night I brushed it away, it was blown off, and no appearance remained on the outside. By this single expedient, I rid myself of at least three hundred weight of earth, and thus made room to continue my labours; yet, this being still insufficient, I had recourse to another artifice, which was, to knead up the earth in the form of sausages to resemble the human faces: these I dried, and when the prisoner came to clean my dungeon, hastily tossed them into the night-table, and thus disencumbered myself of a pound or two more of earth each week. I, further made little balls and when the sentinel was walking, blew them through a paper tube, out of the window. Into the empty space I put my mortar and stones, and worked on successfully.

I cannot, however describe my difficulties, after having penetrated about two feet into the hewn stone. My tools were the irons I had dug out, which fastened my bedstead and night-table. A compassionate soldier also gave me an old iron ramrod, and a soldier's sheath knife, which did me excellent service, more especially the latter. With these, too, I cut splinters from my bedstead, which aided me to pick the mortar from the interstices of the stone; yet the labour of penetrating through this seven feet wall was incredible. The building was ancient, and the mortar, occasionally, quite petrified, so that the whole stone was obliged to be reduced to dust. After continuing my work, unremittingly, for six months, I, at length, approached the accomplishment of my hopes, as I knew by coming to the facing of the brick, which now, was only between me and the adjoining casement.

Mean time, I found opportunity to speak to some of the sentinels, among whom was an old grenadier called Gefhardt, whom I here name, because he displayed qualities of the greatest, and most noble kind. From him I learned the exact situation of my prison, and every circumstance that might best conduce to my escape.

Nothing was wanting but money to buy a boat, and crossing the Elbe with Gefhardt, to take refuge in Saxony. By Gefhardt's means, I became acquainted with a kind hearted girl, a Jewess, and a native of Dessau,

Esther Heymannin by name, whose father had been ten years in prison. This good, compassionate maiden, whom I had never seen won over two other grenadiers, who gave her an opportunity of speaking to me every time they stood sentinel. By tying my splinters together, I made a stick long enough to reach beyond the palisades that were before my window, and thus obtained paper, another knife, and a file.

I now wrote to my sister, described my situation, and intreated her to remit three hundred rix dollars to the Jews, hoping, by this means, I might escape from my prison. I wrote another affecting letter to count Puebla, the Austrian ambassador at Berlin, in which was inclosed a draught for a thousand florins, on my effects at Vienna, desiring him to remit these to the Jews, having promised her that sum as a reward for her fidelity. She was to bring the three hundred rix dollars my sister should send to me, and take measures, with the grenadiers, to facilitate my flight, which nothing seemed able to prevent, I having the power either to break into the casement, or, aided by the grenadiers and the Jews, to cut the locks from the doors, and that way, escape from my dungeon. The letters were open, I being obliged to roll them round the stick to convey them to Esther.

The faithful girl straightway proceeded to Berlin, where she arrived safe, and, immediately spoke to count Puebla. The count gave her the kindest reception, received the letter of exchange, and bade her go and speak to Weingarten, the secretary of the embassy, and act entirely as he should direct. She was received by him in the most friendly manner, who by his questions, drew from her the whole secret, and our intended plan of flight, aided by the two grenadiers, and, also, that she had a letter for my sister, which she must carry to Hammer near Cultrin. He asked to see this letter, read it, told her to proceed on her journey, gave her two ducats to bear her expenses, ordered her to come to him on her return, said that during this interval he would endeavour to obtain her the thousand florins for my draught, and would then give her further instructions.

Esther cheerfully departed for Hammer, where my sister, then a widow, and no longer in dread of her hus-

band, joyful to hear I was still living, immediately gave her the three hundred rix dollars, exhorting her to exert every possible means to obtain my deliverance. Esther hastened back with the letter from my sister to me to Berlin, and told all that had passed to Weingarten, who read the letter, and enquired the names of the two grenadiers. He told her the thousand florins from Vienna were not yet come, but gave her twelve ducats, bade her hasten back to Magdeburg to carry me all this good news, and then to return to Berlin; where he would pay her the thousand florins: Esther came to Magdeburg, went immediately to the citadel, and, most luckily, met the wife of one of the grenadiers, who told her that her husband and his comrade had been taken and put in irons the day before. Esther had quickness of perception, and suspected we had been betrayed: she therefore instantly again began her travels, and happily came safe to Dessau.

Here I must interrupt my narrative, that I may explain this infernal enigma to my readers, an account of which I received after I had obtained my freedom, and still possess in the hand-writing of this Jewess. Weingarten, as afterwards discovered, was a traitor, and too much trusted by count Puebla, he being a spy in the pay of Prussia, and who had revealed to the court of Berlin, not only the secrets of the Imperial embassy, but also the whole plan of the projected war.—For this reason he afterwards, when war broke out, remained at Berlin, in the Prussian service. His reason for betraying me was, that he might secure the thousand florins which I had drawn for on Vienna; for the receipt of the 24th of May, 1755, attests that the sum was paid by the administrators of my effects to count Puebla, and has since been brought to account; nor can I believe that Weingarten did not appropriate this sum to himself, since I cannot be persuaded the ambassador would commit such an action, although the receipt is in his hand-writing, as may easily be demonstrated it being now in my possession. Thus did Weingarten, that he might detain a thousand florins, with impunity, bring new evils upon me, and upon my sister, which occasioned her premature death; caused one grenadier to run the gauntlet three successive days, and another to be hung.



Esther alone escaped, and since gave me an elucidation of the whole affair. The report at Magdeburg was, that a Jewess had obtained money from my sister and bribed two grenadiers, and that one of these had trusted, and been betrayed by his comrade. The truth however is as I have stated; my account book exists, and the Jewess is still alive.

Her poor imprisoned father was punished with more than a hundred blows, to make him declare whether his daughter had intrusted him with the plot, or if he knew whither she was fled; and miserably died in fetters.

I had heard nothing of what had happened for some days; at length however it was the honest Gefhardt's turn to mount guard; but the posts being doubled, and two additional grenadiers placed before my door, explanation was exceedingly difficult. He however in spite of precaution found means to inform me what had happened to his two unfortunate comrades.

The king came to a review at Magdeburg, when he visited the Star Fort, and commanded a new cell to be immediately made, prescribing himself the kind of irons by which I was to be secured. The honest Gefhardt heard the officer say this cell was meant for me; gave me notice of it, but assured me it could not be ready in less than a month. I therefore determined as soon as possible to complete my breach in the wall, and escape without the aid of any one. The thing was possible; for I had twisted the hair of my mattress into a rope, which I meant to tie to a cannon, and descend the rampart; after which I might swim across the Elbe, gain the Saxon frontiers, and thus safely escape.

On the 26th of May I had determined to break into the next casemate; but when I came to work at the bricks, I found them so hard and strongly cemented, that I was obliged to defer the labour to the following day. I left off weary and spent at day-break, and should any one enter my dungeon, they must infallibly discover the breach.

The 27th of May was a cruel day in the history of my life. My cell in the Star Fort had been finished sooner than Gefhardt had supposed; and at night when I was preparing to fly, I heard a carriage stop before my

prison. O God ! what was my terror, what were the horrors of this moment of despair ! The locks and bolts resounded, the doors flew open, and the last of my poor remaining resources was to conceal my knife. The town-major, the major of the day, and a captain entered ; I saw them by the light of their two lanterns. The only words they spoke were, " Dress yourself ; " which was immediately done. I still wore the uniform of the regiment of Cordova.—Irons were given me, which I was obliged myself to fasten on my wrists and ancles : the town-major tied a bandage over my eyes, and taking me under the arm they thus conducted me to the carriage. It was necessary to pass through the city to arrive at the Star Fort : all was silent, except the noise of the escort ; but when we entered Magdeburg I heard the people running, who were crowding together to obtain a sight of me. Their curiosity was raised by the report that I was going to be beheaded. That I was executed on this occasion in the Star Fort, after having been conducted blind-fold through the city, has since been both affirmed and written, and the officers had then orders to propagate this error, that the world might remain in utter ignorance concerning me. I indeed knew otherwise, though I affected not to have this knowledge ; and as I was not gagged, I behaved as if I expected death ; reproached my conductors in language that even made them shudder, and painted their king in his true colours, as one who, unheard, had condemned an innocent subject by a despotic exertion of power.

My fortitude was admired, at the moment when it was supposed I thought myself leading to execution. No one replied, but their sighs intimated their compassion : certain it is, few Prussians willingly execute such commands. The carriage at length stopped, and I was brought into my new cell. The bandage was taken from my eyes :—the dungeon was lighted by a few torches. God of heaven ! what were my feelings when I beheld the floor covered with chains, a fire-pan, and two grim men standing with their smith-hammers !

\* \* \* \* \*

To work went these engines of despotism ! Enormous chains were fixed to my ankle at one end, and at

the other to a ring which was incorporated in the wall. This ring was three feet from the ground, and only allowed me to move about two or three feet to the right and left. They next rivetted another huge iron ring of a hand's breadth round my naked body, to which hung a chain fixed into an iron bar, as thick as a man's arm. This bar was two feet in length, and at each end of it was a hand-cuff. The iron collar round my neck was not added till the year 1756.

\* \* \* \* \*

No foul bade me good night.—All retired in dreadful silence; and I heard the horrible grating of four doors, that were successively locked and bolted upon me!

O God! thou alone knowest how my heart, void as it was of guilt, beat at this moment. There sat I destitute alone in thick darkness, upon the bare earth, with a weight of fetters insupportable to nature, thanking thee that these cruel men had not discovered my knife, by which my miseries might yet find an end. Death is a last certain refuge that can indeed bid defiance to the rage of tyranny. What shall I say? how shall I make the reader feel as I then felt? how describe my despondency, and yet account for that latent impulse that withheld my hand on this fatal, this miserable night?

Such were my meditations; such my night-thoughts. Day at length returned: but where was its splendor? Fled—I beheld it not; yet was its glimmering obscurity sufficient to show me what was my dungeon.

In breadth it was about eight feet; in length ten. Near me once more stood a night-table, in a corner was a seat four bricks broad, on which I might sit and recline against the wall. Opposite the ring to which I was fastened, the light was admitted through a semi-circular aperture, one foot high, and two in diameter. This aperture ascended to the centre of the wall, which was six feet thick; and at this central part was a close iron grating, from which outward the aperture descended and its two extremities were again secured by strong iron bars. My dungeon was built in the ditch of the fortification, and the aperture, by which

the light entered, was so covered by the wall of the rampart, that instead of finding immediate passage, the light only gained admission by reflection. This, considering the smallness of the aperture, and the impediments of grating and iron bars, must needs make the obscurity great; yet my eyes in time became so accustomed to this glimmering, that I could see a mouse run. In winter, however, when the sun did not shine into the ditch it was eternal night with me. Between the bars and the grating was a glass window, with a small central casement, which might be opened to admit air. My night-table was daily removed, and beside me stood a jug of water. The name of TRENCK was built in the wall in red brick, and under my feet was a tombstone with the name of TRENCK also cut on it, and carved with a death's head. The doors to my dungeon were double, of oak, two inches thick; without these was an open space or front cell, in which was a window, and this space was likewise shut in my double doors. The ditch in which this dreadful den was built, was enclosed on both sides by palisadoes, twelve feet high, the key of the door of which was intrusted to the officer of the guard, it being the king's intention to prevent all possibility of speech or communication with the sentinels. The only motion I had the power to make, was that of jumping upward, or swinging my arms to procure myself warmth. When more accustomed to these fetters, I was likewise capable of moving them from side to side, about four feet, but this pained my shin bones.

The cell had been finished with lime and plaster but eleven days, and every body supposed it would be impossible I should exist in these damps above a fortnight. I remained six months continually immersed in water, that trickled upon me from the thick arches under which I was; and I can safely affirm, that for the first three months I was never dry; yet did I continue in health. I was visited daily at noon after relieving guard, and the doors were then obliged to be left open for some minutes, otherwise the dampness of the air put out their candles.

This was my situation, and here I sat destitute of friends, helplessly wretched, preyed on by all the tor-

ture of thought, that continually suggested the most gloomy, the most dreadful of images. My heart was not yet wholly turned to stone; my fortitude was sunken to despondency; my dungeon was the very cave of despair; yet was my arm restrained, yet was this excess of misery endured.

About noon my den was opened. Sorrow and compassion were painted on the countenances of my keepers. No one spoke: no one bade me good-morrow. Dreadful indeed was their arrival; for unaccustomed to the monstrous bolts and bars, they were kept re-sounding for a full half hour, before such foul-chilling, such hope-murdering impediments were removed. It was the voice of tyranny that thundered!

My night-table was taken out, a camp-bed mattress, and blankets were brought me; a jug of water set down, and beside it an ammunition loaf of six pounds weight. "That you no more may complain of hunger," said the town-major, "you shall have as much bread as you can eat."—The door was shut, and I again left to my thoughts.

What a strange thing is that called happiness! How shall I express my extreme joy, when after eleven months of intolerable hunger, I was again indulged with a full feast of coarse ammunition bread! The fond lover never rushed more eagerly to the arms of his expecting bride; the famished tiger more ravenously on his prey, than I upon this loaf: I eat, rested, surveyed the precious morsel, eat again, and absolutely shed tears of pleasure—Breaking bit after bit, I had by evening devoured all my loaf.

Alas! my enjoyment was of short duration.—I soon found that excess is followed by pain and repentance. My fasting had weakened my digestion and rendered it inactive. My body swelled, my water jug was emptied; cramps, cholics, and, at length inordinate thirst, racked me all the night. I began to pour curses on those who seemed to refine on torture, and after starving me so long, to invite me to gluttony. Could I not have reclined on my bed, I should indeed have been driven this night to desperation: yet, even this was but a partial relief; for not accustomed to my enormous fetters, I could not extend myself in them, in the

same manner I was afterward taught to do by habit. I dragged them, however, so together, as to enable me to sit down on the bare mattresses. This, of all my nights of suffering stands foremost. When they opened my dungeon next day, they found me in a truly pitiable situation, wondered at my appetite, brought me another loaf: I refused to accept it, believing I never should have occasion for bread. They however left me one, gave me water, shrugged up their shoulders, wished me farewell, as, according to all appearance, they never expected to find me alive, and shut all the doors, without asking whether I wished or needed farther assistance.

Three days had passed before I could again eat a morsel of bread, and my mind, brave in health, now in a sick body, became pusillanimous, so that I determined on death. The irons every where round my body, and their weight, were insupportable; nor could I imagine it was possible I should habituate myself to them, or endure them long enough to expect deliverance. Peace was a very distant prospect. The king had commanded that such a prison should be built, as should exclude all necessity of a sentinel, in order that I might not converse with, and seduce them from their duty; and in the first days of despair deliverance appeared impossible; and the fetters, the war, the pain I felt, the place, the length of time, each circumstance seemed equally impossible to support. A thousand reasons convinced me it was necessary to end my sufferings.

Full of these meditations, every minute's patience appeared absurdity, and resolution meanness of soul; yet I wished my mind should be satisfied, that reason, and not rashness, had induced the act. I therefore determined, that I might examine the question coolly, to wait a week longer, and die on the 4th of July. In the mean time I revolved in my mind what possible means there were of escape, not fearing, naked and chained, to rush and expire on the bayonets of my enemies.

The next day I observed, as the four doors were opened, that they were only of wood, therefore questioned, whether I might not even cut off the locks with

the knife that I had so fortunately concealed ; and should this and every other means fail, then would be the time to die. I likewise determined to make an attempt even to free myself of my chains. I happily forced my right hand through the hand-cuff, though the blood trickled from my nails. My attempts on the left were long ineffectual ; but, by rubbing with a brick which I got from my feat on the rivet that had been negligently closed, I effected this also.

The chain was fastened to a rim round my body by a hook, one end of which was not inserted in the rim : therefore, by setting my foot against the wall, I had strength enough so far to bend this hook back, and open it, as to force out the link of the chain. The remaining difficulty was the chain that attached my foot to the wall : the links of this chain I took, doubled, twisted, and wrenched, till at length, nature having bestowed on me great strength, I made a desperate effort, sprang forcibly up, and two links at once flew off.

Fortunate indeed did I think myself : I hastened to the door, groped in the dark to find the clinchings of the nails by which the lock was fastened, and discovered no very large piece of wood need be cut. Immediately I went to work with my knife, and cut through the oak door to find its thickness, which proved to be only one inch, therefore was it possible to open all the doors in four and twenty hours.

Again hope revived in my heart. To prevent detection I hastened to put on my chains ; but, O God ! what difficulties had I to surmount !—After much groping about, I at length found the link that had flown off : this I hid. It had been my good fortune, hitherto, to escape examination, as the possibility of ridding myself of such chains was in no wise suspected. The separated links I tied together with my hair ribbon ; but when I again endeavoured to force my hand into the ring, it was so swelled that every effort was fruitless. The whole night was employed upon the rivet, but all labour was in vain.

Noon was the hour of visitation, and necessity and danger again obliged me to attempt forcing my hand in, which, at length, after excruciating torture, I effected. My visitors came, and every thing had the ap-

## THE LIFE OF

france of order. I found it, however, impossible to  
ce out my right hand while it continued swelled.

therefore remained quiet till the day fixed, and,  
the determined 4th of July, immediately as my vi-  
rs had closed the doors upon me, I disencumbered  
self of my irons, took my knife and began my Her-  
can labour on the door. The first of the double doors  
t opened inwards, was conquered in less than an  
ur; the other was a very different task. The lock  
s soon cut round, but it opened outwards; there  
re therefore no other means left, but to cut the  
ole door away above the bar.

This incessant and incredible labour made possible,  
ugh it was the more difficult, as every thing was to  
done by feeling, I being totally in the dark; the  
at dropt, or rather flowed from my body; my fin-  
s were clotted with my own blood, and my lacerat-  
hands were one continued wound.

Day-light appeared: I clambered over the door that  
s half cut away, and got up to the window in the  
ce or cell that was between the double doors, as a-  
re described. Here I saw my dungeon was in the  
ch of the first rampart: before me I beheld the road  
in the rampart, the guard but fifty paces distant,  
l the high palisadoes that were in the ditch, and must  
scaled before I could reach the rampart. Hope grew  
nger; my efforts were redoubled. The first of the  
t double doors was attacked, which opened inward,  
l was soon conquered. The sun set before I had  
led this, and the fourth was to be cut away as the  
ond had been. My strength failed; both my hands  
re raw: I rested a while, began again, and had made  
it of a foot long, when my knife snapt, and the bro-  
blade dropt to the ground!

\* \* \* \* \*

God of omnipotence! what was I at this moment!  
is there God of mercies! was there ever creature  
hine more justified in despair?—The moon shone  
ar: I cast a wild distracted look up to heaven; seiz-  
the broken knife, gashed through the veins of my  
arm and foot, sat myself tranquilly down, and saw  
blood flow. Nature overpowered, fainted, and I



know not how long I remained slumbering in this state. Suddenly I heard my own name, awoke, and again heard the words baron Trenck? My answer was, who calls? And who indeed was it, but my honest grenadier, Gefhardt, my former faithful friend in the citadel. The good, the kind fellow, had got upon the rampart that he might comfort me.

"How do you do?" said Gefhardt. "Weltering in my blood," answered I; "to-morrow you will find me dead." "Why should you die?" replied he. "It is much easier for you to escape here than from the citadel. Here is no sentinel, and I shall soon find means to supply you with tools: if you can only break out, leave the rest to me.—As often as I am on guard I will seek opportunity to speak to you. In the whole Star Fort there are but two sentinels; the one at the entrance, and the other at the guard-house. Do not despair; God will succour you; trust to me." The good man's kindness and discourse revived my hopes: I saw the possibility of an escape. A secret joy diffused itself through my soul. I immediately tore my shirt, bound up my wounds, and waited the approach of day; and the sun soon after shone through the window to me with unaccustomed brightness.

Let the reader judge how far it was chance, how far the effect of divine providence, that in this dreadful hour my heart again received hope. Who was it sent the honest Gefhardt at such a moment to my prison? For had it not been for him, I had certainly when I awoke from my slumbers, cut more effectually through my arteries.

Till noon I had time to consider what might farther be done: yet, what could be done, what expected, but that I should now be much more cruelly treated, and even insupportably ironed than before; finding, as they must, the doors cut through, and my fetters shaken off?

After mature consideration, I therefore made the following resolution, which succeeded happily, and even beyond my hopes. Before I proceed, however, I will speak a few words concerning my then situation. It is impossible to describe how much I was exhausted. The prison swam with blood, and certainly but little was left in my body. With painful wounds, swelled

and torn hands, I there stood shirtless; felt an inclination to sleep almost irresistible, and scarcely had strength to keep my legs, yet was I obliged to rouse myself, that I might execute my plan.

With the bar that separated my hands I loosened the bricks of my seat, which being newly laid, was easily done, and heaped them up in the middle of my prison. The inner door was quite open, and with my chains I so barricaded the upper half of the second, as to prevent any one climbing over it. When noon came, and the first of the doors was unlocked, all were astonished to find the second open. There I stood, a desperate man, besmeared with blood, the picture of horror, with a brick in one hand, and in the other my broken knife, crying, as they approached, "Keep off, Mr. Major, keep off! Tell the governor I will live no longer in chains, and that here I stand, if so he pleases, to be shot; for so only will I be conquered. Here no man shall enter—I will destroy all that approach. Here are my weapons, here will I die in despite of tyranny." The major was terrified, wanted resolution, and made his report to the governor. I mean time sat down on the bricks to wait what might happen: my secret intent, however, was not so desperate as it appeared. I sought only to obtain a favourable capitulation.

The governor general Borck presently came, attended by the town-major and some officers, and entered the outward cell, but sprung back the moment he beheld a figure like me, standing with a brick and up-lifted arm. I repeated what I had told the major, and he immediately ordered six grenadiers to force the door. The front cell was scarcely six feet broad, so that no more than two at a time could attack my intrenchment, and when they saw my threatening bricks ready to descend, they leaped terrified back. A short pause ensued, and the old town major, with the chaplain, advanced towards the door to soothe me: the conversation continued some time: whose reasons were most satisfactory, and whose cause was the most just, I leave to the reader. The governor grew angry, and ordered a fresh attack. The first grenadier was knocked down, and the rest ran back to avoid my missiles.

The town major, again, beat a parley.—“For God’s sake, my dear Trenck,” said he, “in what have I injured you, that you endeavour to effect my ruin? I must answer for your having, through my negligence, concealed a knife. Be persuaded, I intreat you: be appeased. You are not without hope, nor without friends.”—My answer was—“But will you not load me with heavier irons than before.”

He went out, spoke with the governor, and gave me his word and honour, that the affair should be no farther noticed, and that every thing should be exactly reinstated as formerly.

Here ended the capitulation, and my wretched citadel was taken. The condition I was in was viewed with pity; my wounds were examined, a surgeon was sent to dress them, another shirt was given me, and the bricks clotted with blood, removed. I, mean time lay half dead on my mattress. My thirst was excessive, the surgeon ordered me some wine; two sentinels were stationed in the front cell, and I was thus left four days in peace, unironed. Broth, also was given me daily; and how delicious this was to taste, how much it revived and strengthened me, is wholly impossible to describe. Two days I lay in a slumbering kind of trance, forced by unquenchable thirst, to drink whenever I awoke. My feet and hands were swelled; the pains in my back and limbs were excessive.

On the fifth day, the doors were ready; the inner was entirely plated with iron, and I was fettered as before: perhaps they found further cruelty unnecessary. The principal chain, however, which fastened to the wall, like that I had before broken, was thicker than the first. They deeply regretted, that without the king’s express commands, they could not lighten my afflictions, wished me fortitude and patience, and barred up my doors.

It is necessary I should describe my dress. My hands being fixed and kept asunder, by an iron bar, and my feet chained to the wall, I could neither put on shirt or stockings in the usual mode; the shirt was, therefore, tied, and changed once a fortnight; the coarse ammunition stockings were buttoned on the sides; a blue garment, of soldier’s cloth, was, likewise, tied round

me, and I had a pair of slippers for my feet. The first was of the army linen, and when I contemplated myself in this dress of a malefactor, chained thus to the wall, in such a dungeon, vainly imploring mercy or justice, my conscience void of reproach, my heart of guilt; when I reflected on my former splendour in Berlin and Moscow, and compared it with this sad, this dreadful reverse of destiny, I was sunk in grief, or roused to indignation, that might have hurried the greatest hero, or philosopher, to madness or despair. I felt what can only be imagined by him who has suffered like me, after having, like me, flourished, if such can be found.

Pride, the justness of my cause, the unbounded confidence I had in my own resolution, and the labours of an inveterate head and iron body, these only could have preserved my life. These bodily labours, these continued inventions, and projected plans to obtain my freedom, preserved my health. Who would suppose that a man, fettered as I was, could find means of exercising himself? By swinging my arms, acting with the upper part of my body, and leaping upward, I frequently put myself in a strong perspiration. After thus wearying myself, I slept soundly.

The failure of my escape, and the recovery of life, from this state of despair, led me to moralize deeper than I had ever done before; and, in this depth of thought, I found unexpected consolation and fortitude, and a firm persuasion I should yet accomplish my deliverance.

Gefhardt my honest grenadier, had infused fresh hope and my mind now busily began to meditate new plans. A sentinel had been placed before my door, that I might be more narrowly watched, and the married men of the Prussian states, were appointed to this duty, who, as I shall hereafter show, were more easy to persuade in aiding my flight, than foreign fugitives. The Pomeranian will listen, and is, by nature, kind, therefore, may easily be moved, and induced to succour distress.

I began to be more accustomed to my irons, which I had before found so insupportable; I could comb out my long hair, and could tie it at last with one hand. My beard, which had so long remained unshaven, gave

me a grim appearance, and I began to pluck it up by the roots. The pain, at first, was considerable, especially round the lips; but this also custom conquered, and I performed this operation in the following years, once in six weeks or two months; as the hair thus plucked up required that length of time before the nails could again get hold. Vermin did not molest me; the dampness of my den was inimical to them. My limbs never swelled, because of the exercise I gave myself, as above described. The greatest pain I found was in the continued thinness in which I lived.

I had read much; had lived in, and seen much of the world; vacuity of thought, therefore I was little troubled with; the former transactions of my life, what had happened, and the remembrance of the persons I had known, I revolved so often in my mind, that they became as familiar and connected, as if the events had each been written in the order it occurred. Habit made this mental exercise so perfect to me, that I could compose speeches, fables, odes, satires, all which I repeated aloud; and had so stored my memory with them, that I was enabled, after I had obtained my freedom, to commit to writings two volumes of these my prison labours. Accustomed to this exercise, days, that would otherwise have been days of misery, appeared but as a moment.

About three weeks after my attempt to escape, the good Gefhardt first came to stand sentinel over me: and the sentinel they had so carefully set, was, indeed the only hope I could have of escape; for help must be had from without, or this was impossible.

The effort I had made had excited too much surprize and alarm, for me to pass without strict examination, since, on the ninth day after I was confined, I had, in eighteen hours, so far broken through a prison, built purposely for myself, by a combination of so many projectors, and with such extreme precaution, which prison had universally been declared impenetrable.

Gefhardt scarcely had taken his post, before we had free opportunity of conversing together; for, when I stood with one foot on my bedstead, I could reach the aperture through which light was admitted.

Gefhardt described the situation of my dungeon, and our first plan was to break through the foundation, which he had seen laid, and which he affirmed to be only two feet deep.

Money was the first thing necessary. Gefhardt was relieved during his guard, and returned, bringing with him a sheet of paper rolled on a wire, which he passed through my grating; after which a piece of small wax candle, some burning tinder, a match and a pen. I now had light, pricked my finger, and wrote with my blood, to my faithful friend, captain Ruckhardt at Vienna, described my situation in a few words, sent him an acquittance for three thousand florins on my revenues; and requested he would dispose of a thousand florins to defray the expenses of his journey to Gummern, only two miles from Magdeburg. Here he was positively to be on the 15th of August. About noon on this same day, he was to walk with a letter in his hand; a man was there to meet him, sinoaking a roll of tobacco, to whom he must remit the two thousand florins and return to Vienna.

I returned the written paper to Gefhardt, by the same means it had been received, gave him my instructions, and he sent his wife with it to Gummern, by whom it was safely put in the post.

My hopes daily rose, and as often as Gefhardt mounted guard, so often did we continue our projects. The 15th of August came, but it was some days before Gefhardt was again on guard; and oh! how did my heart palpitate, when he came and exclaimed, "All is right! we have succeeded." He returned in the evening, and we began to consider by what means he should convey the money to me. I could not, with my hands chained to an iron bar, reach to the aperture of the window that admitted air; beside that, it was too small. It was therefore agreed that Gefhardt should on the next guard perform the office of cleaning my dungeon, and that he then should convey the money to me in the water jug.

This luckily was done. How great was my astonishment, when instead of one, I found two thousand florins! for I had permitted him to reserve half to himself, as a reward for his fidelity.

He however had kept but five pistoles, which he insisted was enough, though I afterwards prevailed on him to accept the whole thousand.

Having money to carry on my designs, I began to put my plan of burrowing under the foundation into execution. The first thing necessary was to free myself of my fetters. To accomplish this Gefhardt supplied me with two small files; and by the aid of these this labour, though great, was effected.

The cap or staple of the foot ring, was made so wide that I could draw it forward a quarter of an inch. I filed the iron which passed through it on the inside, and the more I filed this away, the further I could draw the cap down, till at last the whole inside iron, through which the chains passed, was quite cut through; by this means I could slip off the ring, while the cap on the outside continued whole, and it was impossible to discover any cut, as only the outside could be examined. My hand, by continued efforts, I so compressed, as to be able to draw them out of the hand-cuffs. I then filed the hinge, and made a screw-driver of one of the foot-long flooring nails, by which I could take out the screws at pleasure, so that at the time of examination no proofs could appear. The rim round my body was but a small impediment, except the chain which passed from my hand-bar, and this I removed, by filing an aperture in one of the links, which, at the necessary hour I closed with bread, rubbed over with rusty iron, first drying it by the heat of my body; and would wager any sum, that without striking the chain link by link, with a hammer, no one not in the secret, would have discovered this fracture.

The window was never strictly examined; I therefore drew the two staples by which the iron bars were fixed to the wall, and which I daily replaced, carefully plaistering them over. I procured wire from Gefhardt, and tried how well I could imitate the inner grating: finding I succeeded tolerably, I cut the real grating totally away, and substituted an artificial one of my own fabricating, by which I obtained a free communication with the outside, additional fresh air, together with all necessary implements, tinder and candles. That the light might not be seen, I hung the coverlid of my bed

before the window, so that I could work fearless and undetected.

Every thing prepared, I went to work. The floor of my dungeon was not of stone, but oak planks, three inches thick; three beds of which were laid crosswise, and were fastened to each other by nails half an inch in diameter, and a foot long. Having worked round the head of a nail, I made use of the hole at the end of the bar, which separated my hands, to draw it out, and this nail I sharpened upon my tombstone into an excellent chissel.

I now cut through the board more than an inch in width, that I might work downward, and, having drawn away a piece of board, which was inserted two inches under the wall, I cut this so as exactly to fit: the small crevice it occasioned I stopped up with bread, and strewed over with dust, so as to prevent all suspicious appearance. My labour under this was continued with less precaution, and I had soon worked through my nine inch planks. Under them I came to a fine white sand, on which the Star Fort was built. My chips I carefully distributed beneath the boards. If I had not help from without, I could proceed no farther, for to dig were useless, unless I could rid myself of my rubbish—Gefhardt supplied me with some ells of cloth, of which I made long narrow bags, stuffed them with earth, and passed them between the iron bars to Gefhardt, who as often as he was on guard, scattered or conveyed away their contents.

Furnished with room to secrete them under the floor, I obtained more instruments, together with a pair of pistols, powder, ball, and a bayonet.

I now discovered that the foundation of my prison, instead of two, was sunk four feet deep.—Time, labour, and patience, were all necessary to break out unheard, and undiscovered; but few things are impossible, where resolution is not wanting.

• The hole I made was obliged to be four feet deep, corresponding with the foundation, and wide enough to kneel and stoop in! the laying down on the floor to work, the continual stooping to throw out the earth, the narrow space in which all must be performed, these made the labour incredible; and after this daily labour



all things were to be replaced, and my chains again resumed, which alone required some hours to effect. My greatest aid was in the wax candles, and light I had procured; but as Gefhardt stood sentinel only once a fortnight, my work was much delayed; the sentinels were forbidden to speak to me under pain of death, and I was too fearful of being betrayed to dare to seek new assistance.

Being without a stove, I suffered much this winter from cold, yet my heart was cheerful, as I saw the probability of freedom; and all were astonished to find me in such good spirits.

Gefhardt also brought me supplies of provisions, chiefly consisting of sausages and salt meats ready dressed, which increased my strength; and when I was not digging, I wrote satires and verses; thus time was employed, and I contented even in a prison.

Lulled into security, an accident happened that will appear almost incredible, and by which every hope was nearly frustrated.

Gefhardt had been working with me, and was relieved in the morning. As I was replacing the window, which I was obliged to remove on these occasions, it fell out of my hands, and three glass panes were broken. Gefhardt was not to return till guard was again relieved; I had therefore no opportunity of speaking with him, or concerting any mode of repair. I remained nearly an hour conjecturing and hesitating, for certainly, had the broken window been seen, as it was impossible I should reach it when fettered, I should immediately have been more rigidly examined, and the false grating must have been discovered.

I therefore came to a resolution, and spoke to the sentinel, who was amusing himself with whistling: "My good fellow have pity, not upon me, but upon your comrades, who, should you refuse, will certainly be executed: I will throw you thirty pistoles through the window if you will do me a small favour." He remained some moments silent, and at last answered in a low voice, "What! have you money then?"—I immediately counted thirty pistoles, and threw them through the window. He asked to know what he was to do! I told my difficulty, and gave him the size of

panes in paper. The man fortunately was bold and prudent. The door of the palisadoes, through the negligence of the officer, had not been shut that day. It prevailed on one of his comrades to stand sentinel for him during half an hour, while he mean time ran to the town, and procured the glass, on the receipt of which I instantly threw him out ten more pistoles. Before the hour of noon and visitation came, every thing was once more reinstated, my glaziers performed to a miracle, and the life of my worthy Gefhardt preserved.

Gefhardt's alarm may easily be imagined; he some days after returned to his post, and was the more astonished, as he knew the sentinel who had done me this good office; that he had five children, and was a man not to be depended on by his officers, of any one in the whole grenadier company.

I now continued my labour, and found it very possible to break out under the foundation; but Gefhardt had been so terrified by the late accident, that he started a thousand difficulties in proportion as my end was more nearly accomplished; and, at the moment when I wished to concert with him the means of flight, he persisted it was necessary to find additional help, to escape in safety, and not bring both him and myself to destruction. At length we came to the following determination, which, however, after eight months incessant labour past, rendered my whole project abortive.

I wrote once more to Ruckhardt at Vienna; sent him a new assignment for money, and desired he would again repair to Gummern, where he should wait six several nights with two spare horses, on the glacis of Lossberg at the time appointed, every thing being prepared for flight.

Within these six days Gefhardt would have found means either in rotation, or by exchanging the guard, to have been with me.—Gefhardt sent his wife to Gummern with the letter, and this silly woman told the post-master her husband had a law-suit at Vienna, that, therefore she begged he would take particular care of the letter, for which purpose she slipped ten rix-dollars into his hand.

This unexpected liberality raised the suspicions of the Saxon post-master; who therefore opened the letter, read the contents, and instead of sending it to Vienna, or at least to the general post-master at Dresden, he preferred the traitorous act of taking it himself to the governor of Magdeburg prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

What were my terrors, what my despair, when I beheld the prince himself, about three o'clock in the afternoon enter my prison with his attendants, present my letter, and ask, in an authoritative voice, who had carried it to Gummern.—My answer was, “I know not.” Strict search was immediately made by smiths, carpenters, and masons, and after half an hour's examination, they discovered neither my hole, nor the manner in which I disencumbered myself of my chains: they only saw that the middle grating in the aperture where the light was admitted had been moved. This was boarded up the next day, and only a small air-hole left, of about six inches diameter.

The prince began to threaten; I persisted I had never seen the sentinel who had rendered me this service, nor asked his name. Seeing his attempts all ineffectual, the governor, in a milder tone said, “You have ever complained, baron Trenck, of not having hitherto been legally sentenced, or heard in your defence; I give you my word of honor, this you shall be, and also that you shall be released from your fetters, if you will only tell me who took your letter. To this I replied with all the fortitude of innocence,—“Every body knows my lord I have never deserved the treatment I have met with in my country. My heart is irreproachable. I seek to recover my liberty by every means in my power; but were I capable of betraying the man whose compassion had induced him to succour my distress; were I the coward that could purchase happiness at his expense, I then should indeed deserve to wear those chains with which I am loaded. For myself, do with me what you please; yet remember I am not wholly destitute, I am still a captain in the Imperial service, and a descendant of the house of Trenck.”

Prince Ferdinand stood for a moment unable to answer, then renewed his threats, and left my dungeon. I have since been told that when he was out of hearing, he said to those round him, "I pity his hard fate, and cannot but admire his strength of mind."

I must here remark, that when we remember the usual circumspection of this great man, we are obliged to wonder at his imprudence in holding a conversation of such kind with me, which lasted a considerable time in the presence of the guard. The soldiers of the whole garrison had afterwards the utmost confidence, as they were convinced I would not meanly devote others to destruction, that I might benefit myself. This was the way to gain me esteem and intercourse among the men, especially as the duke had said he knew I must have money concealed, for that I had distributed some to the criminals.

He had scarcely been gone an hour, before I heard a noise near my prison. I listened—What could it be? I heard talking, and learned a grenadier had hanged himself to the palisades of my prison!

The officer of the guard and the town-major again entered my dungeon to fetch a lantern—they had forgotten, and the officer at going out, told me in a whisper, "One of your associates has just hanged himself."

It is impossible to impart my terror or sensations; I believed it could be only my kind, my honest Gefhardt. After many gloomy thoughts, and lamenting the unhappy end of so worthy a fellow, I began to recollect what the prince had promised me if I would discover my accomplice. I knocked at the door, desiring to speak to the officer; he came to the window, and asked what I wanted? I requested he would inform the governor that if he would send me light, pen, ink and paper, I would discover my whole secret.

These were accordingly sent; an hour's time was granted; the door was shut, and I left alone. I sat myself down, began to write on my night-table, and was about to insert the name of Gefhardt, but my blood thrilled and shrunk back to my heart. I shuddered, rose, went to the aperture of the window, and called, "Is there no man who in compassion, will tell me the name of him who has hanged himself, that I

may deliver many others from destruction!" The window was not nailed up till the next day, I therefore wrapped five pistoles in a paper, threw them out, called to the sentinel, and said, "Friend take these, and save thy comrades; or go betray me, and bring down innocent blood upon thy head."

The paper was taken up; a pause of silence ensued; I heard sighs, and presently after a low voice said, "His name is Schutz, he belonged to the company of Ripp's."—I had never heard the name before, or known the man; but I however immediately wrote *Schutz*, instead of *Gefhardt*. Having finished the letter, I called the lieutenant, who took that and the light away, and again barred up the door of my dungeon. The duke however suspected there must be some collusion, and every thing remained in the same state; I obtained neither hearing nor court-martial. I learned in the sequel the following circumstances, which will display the truth of this apparently incredible story.

While I was imprisoned in the citadel, a sentinel came to the post under my window, cursed and blasphemed, exclaiming aloud—"Damn the Prussian service! if Trenck only knew my mind, he would not long continue in his infernal hole." I entered into discourse with him, and he told me, if I could give him money to purchase a boat, in which he might cross the Elbe, he would soon make my doors fly open, and set me free.

Money at that time I had none, but I gave him a diamond shirt-buckle, worth five hundred florins, which I had concealed. I never heard more from this man; he spoke to me no more; he often stood sentinel over me, which I knew by his Westphalian dialect, and I often addressed myself to him but ineffectually, he would make no answer.

This Schutz must have sold my buckle, and let his riches be seen: for when the duke left me, the lieutenant on guard said to him—"You must certainly be the rascal who carried Trenck's letter; you have for some time past, spent much money, and we have seen you with louis d'ors. How came you by them?" Schutz was terrified, his conscience accused him; he imagined I should betray him, he having deceived me.

He, therefore, in the first agonies of despair, came to the palisadoes, and hung him self before the door of my dungeon.

How wonderful is the hand of providence! The wicked man fell a sacrifice to his crime, after having escaped a whole year; and the faithful the benevolent-hearted Gefhardt was thereby saved.

The sentinels were now doubled, that any intercourse with them might be rendered more difficult. Gefhardt again stood guard, but he had scarcely opportunity, without danger to speak a few words: he thanked me for having preserved him, wished me better fortune, and told me the garrison, in a few days, would take the field.

This was dreadful news—my whole plan was destroyed at a breath. I, however, soon recovered fresh hopes. The hole I had sunk was not discovered: I had five hundred florins, candles, and implements.

The seven years war broke out about a week after, and the regiment took the field. Major Weyner came, for the last time, and committed me to the care of the new major of militia, Bruckhausen, who was one of the most furly and stupid of all men.

All the majors and lieutenants of the guard, who had treated me with compassion and esteem, now departed, and I became an old prisoner in a new world.

I required greater confidence; however, by remembering, that both officers and men in the militia, were much easier to gain over, than the regulars.

Four lieutenants were appointed, with their men, to mount guard, at the Star-Fort, in turn, and before a year had passed, three of them were in my interest.

The regiments had scarcely taken, the field, ere the new governor, general Borck, entered my prison, like what he was, an imperious, cruel tyrant. The king, in giving him the command, had informed him he must answer for my person, with his head: he, therefore had full power to treat me with whatever severity he pleased.

Borck was a stupid man, of an unfeeling heart, the slave of despotic orders, and as often as he thought it possible, I might rid myself of my fetters, and escape, his heart palpitated with fear. In addition to this, he

considered me as the vilest of men and traitors, seeing his king had condemned me to imprisonment so cruel, and his barbarity towards me, was thus the effect of character, and meanness of soul. He entered my dungeon, not as an officer, to visit a brother officer in misery, but as an executioner to a felon. Smiths then made their appearance, and a monstrous iron collar, of a hands breadth, was put round my neck, and connected with the chains of the feet by additional heavy links. My window was walled up, except a small air-hole. He even at length, took away my bed, gave me no straw, and quitted me, with a thousand revilings on the empress queen, her whole army and myself. In words, however, I was little in his debt, and he was enraged even to madness.

What my situation was, under this additional load of tyranny, and the command of a man so void of human pity, the reader must imagine. My greatest good fortune consisted in the ability I still had to disencumber myself of all the irons that was connected with the ankle rims, and the provision I had of light paper, and implements; and though it was apparently impossible I should break out undiscovered by both sentinels, yet had I the remaining hope of gaining some officer, by money, who as in Glatz should assist my escape.

Had the commands been literally obeyed, escape would have been wholly impossible; for, by this, all communication would have been cut totally off with the sentinels. To this effect, the four keys of the four doors were each to be kept by different persons: one with the governor, another with the town-major, the third with the major of the day, and the fourth with the lieutenant of the guard. I never could have found opportunity to have spoken to any of them singly.

These commands, at first, were rigidly observed, with this exception, that the governor made his appearance only every week, Magdeburg became so full of prisoners, that the town major was obliged to deliver up his key to the major of the day, and the governor's visitation wholly subsided, being an English mile and a half distant from the Star Fort.

General Walrabe, who had been a prisoner ever since the year 1746, was also at the Star-Fort. but he had apartments, and three thousand rix dollars a year. The major of the day and the officers of the guard, dined with him daily, and generally staid till evening. Either from compassion or a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, these gentlemen entrusted the keys to the lieutenant on guard, by which means I could speak with each of them alone, when they made their visit.

Borck had selected three majors, and four lieutenants only, for this service, as those he best could trust. My situation was truly deplorable. The enormous iron round my neck, pained me, and prevented motion, and I durst not attempt to disengage myself from the pendant chains, till I had for some months carefully observed the mode of their examination, and which parts they supposed were perfectly secure. The cruelty of depriving me of my bed was still greater; I was obliged to sit upon the bare ground, and lay with my head against the damp wall. The chains that descended from the neck-collar, were obliged to be supported first with one hand, and then with the other, for if thrown behind, they would have strangled me, and if hanging forward, occasioned most exquisite headachs. The bar between my hands, held one down, while leaning on my elbow; I supported with the other my chains, and this so benumbed the muscles, and prevented circulation, that I could perceive my arms sensibly waste away. The little sleep I could have, in such a situation, may easily be supposed; and, at length, body and mind sunk under this accumulation of miserable suffering, and I fell ill of a burning fever.

The tyrant Borck was inexorable; he wished to expedite my death, and rid himself of his troubles and terrors. Here did I experience what was the lamentable condition of a sick prisoner, without bed, refreshment, or aid from human being.

I continued ill about two months, and was so reduced at last, that I had scarcely strength to lift the water-jug to my mouth. What must the sufferings of that man be, who sits two months on the bare ground, in a dungeon so damp, so dark, so horrible, without bed or straw, his limbs loaded as mine were, with no refresh-



ment but dry ammunition bread, without so much as a drop of broth, without physic, without consoling friends and who, under all these afflictions, must trust for his recovery to the efforts of nature alone !

Sickness itself is sufficient to humble the mightiest mind ; what then is sickness, with such addition of torment ? The burning fever, the violent head-achs, my neck swelled and inflamed with the irons, enraged me almost to madness. The fever and the fetters together, flead my body so that it appeared like one continued wound—Enough ! Enough !—The malefactor extended living on the wheel, to whom the cruel executioner refuses the last stroke, the blow of death, must yet in some short period expire ; he suffers nothing I did not then suffer, and these my excruciating pangs continued two dreadful months—Yet, can it be supposed ? There came a day !—A day of horror, when these mortal pangs were beyond all imagination increased ! I sat scorched with this intolerable fever, in which nature and death was contending, and when attempting to quench my burning entrails with cold water, the jug dropped from my feeble hands and broke ! I had four and twenty hours to remain without water. So intolerable, so devouring was my thirst, I could have drank human blood ! Aye, in my madness had it been the blood of my father !

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Willingly would I have seized my pistols, but strength had forsaken me ; I could not open the place I was obliged to render so secure.

My visitors, next day supposed me gone at last—I lay motionless, with my tongue out of my mouth. They poured water down my throat, and found life.

Oh God ! oh God ! How pure, how delicious, how exquisite was this water ! My insatiable thirst soon emptied the jug ; they filled it anew, bid me farewell, hoped death would soon relieve my mortal sufferings, and departed.

The lamentable state in which I lay, at length became so much the subject of general conversation, that all the ladies of the town united with the officers, and prevailed on the tyrant Eorck, to restore me my bed.

One of the majors of the day entrusted his key to lieutenant Sontag, who came alone, spoke in confidence, and related his own situation, complained of his debts, his poverty, his necessities; and I made him a present of twenty-five louis-d'ors, for which he was so grateful, that our friendship became unshaken.

The three lieutenants all commiserated me, and would sit hours with me, when a certain major had the inspection; and he himself, after a time, would even pass half the day with me. He, too, was poor, and I gave him a draught for three thousand florins: hence new projects took birth.

Money became necessary; I had dispersed all I had possessed, a hundred florins excepted, among the officers. The eldest son of captain K——, who officiated as major, had been cashiered; his father complained to me of his distress, and I sent him to my sister, not far from Berlin, from whom he received a hundred ducats. He returned, and related her joy at hearing from me. He found her exceedingly ill, and she informed me, in a few lines, that my misfortunes, and the treachery of Weingarten, had entailed poverty upon her, and an illness which had endured more than two years. She wished me a happy deliverance from my chains, and in the expectation of death, committed her children to my protection. She, however, grew better, and married a second time, colonel Pape; but died in the year 1758.

K—n returned, happy, with the money; all things were concerted with the father. I wrote to the countess Bestuchef, also to the grand duke, afterwards Peter III. recommended the young soldier, and repeated every possible succour for myself.

K—n departed through Hamburg, for Petersburg; where, in consequence of my recommendation, he became a captain, and, in a short time, major. He took his measures so well, that I, by the intervention of his father, and a Hamburg merchant, received two thousand rubles from the countess, while the service he rendered me made his own fortune in Russia.

To old K—n, who was as poor as he was honest, I gave three hundred ducats; and he, till death, continued my grateful friend. I distributed nearly as much

to the other officers ; and matters proceeded so far that lieutenant Glotin gave back the keys to the major, without locking my prison, himself passing half the night with me. Money was given to the guard to drink, and thus every thing succeeded to my wish, and the tyrant Borck, was deceived. I had a supply of light ; had books, newspapers, and my days passed swiftly away. I read, I wrote, I busied myself so thoroughly, that I almost forgot I was a prisoner.—When, indeed the surly, dull, blockhead, major Bruckhausen, had the inspection, every thing must be carefully reinstated. Major Z—, the second of the three, was wholly mine. He was particularly attached to me, for I had promised to marry his daughter ; and should I die in prison, bequeath him a legacy of ten thousand florins.

Lieutenant Sonntag got false hand cuffs made for me, that were so wide I could easily draw my hands out ; the lieutenants, only, examined my irons ; the new hand-cuffs were made perfectly similar to the old, and Bruckhausen had too much stupidity to remark any difference.

The remainder of my chains I could disencumber myself of at pleasure. When I exercised myself, I held them in my hands, that the sentinels might be deceived by their clanking. The neck-iron was the only one I durst not remove ; it was, likewise, too strongly rivetted. I filed through the upper-link of the pendent chain, however, by which means I could take it off, and this I concealed, with bread, in the manner before mentioned.

So could I disencumber myself of most of my fetters, and sleep at ease. I again obtained sausages and cold meat, and thus my situation, bad as it still was, became less miserable.—Liberty still, however, was most desirable ; but, alas ! not one of the three lieutenants had the courage of a Schell : Saxony, too, was in the hands of the Prussians, and flight, therefore, more dangerous. Persuasion was in vain, with men determined to risk nothing, but, if they went, to go in safety. Will, indeed, was not wanting in Glotin and Sonntag ; but the first was a paltroun, and the latter a man of scruples, who likewise thought this step might be the ruin of his brother in Berlin.

The sentinels were doubled, therefore my escape through my hole, which had been two years dug, could not, unperceived by them, be effected; still less could I in face of the guard, clamber the twelve feet palisades. The following labour, therefore, though Herculean, was undertaken.

Lieutenant Sonntag, measuring the interval, between the hole I had dug, and the entrance of the gallery in the principal rampart, found it to be thirty-seven feet. Into this, it was possible, I might, by mining, penetrate. The difficulty of the enterprise was lessened by the nature of the ground, a fine white sand.—Could I reach the gallery, my freedom was certain. I had been informed how many steps to the right or left must be taken; to find the door that led to the second rampart; and on the day when I should be ready for flight, the officer was secretly to leave this door open. I had light and mining tools, and I was further to rely on money and my own discretion.

I began and continued this labour about six months. I have already noticed the difficulty of scraping out the earth with my hands. The noise of instruments would have been heard by the sentinels. I had scarcely mined beyond my dungeon wall, before I discovered the foundation of the rampart was not more than a foot deep, a capital error, certainly in so important a fortress. My labour became the lighter, as I could remove the foundation stones of my dungeon, and was not obliged to mine so deep.

My work, at first, proceeded so rapidly, that while I had room to throw back my sand, I was able, in one night, to gain three feet; but ere I had proceeded ten feet, I discovered all my difficulties. Before I could continue my work, I was obliged to make room for myself, by emptying the sand out of my hole, upon the floor of the prison, and this itself was an employment of some hours. The sand was obliged to be thrown out by the hand; and after it thus lay heaped in my prison, must be again returned into the hole; and I have calculated, that after I had proceeded twenty feet, I was obliged to creep under ground in my hole, from fifteen hundred to two thousand fathoms, within twenty four hours, in the removal and replacing of the sand. This

labour ended, care was to be taken, that in none of the crevices of the floor there might be any appearance of this fine white sand. The flooring was next to be exactly replaced, and my chains to be resumed.—So severe was the fatigue of the day in this mode, that I was always obliged to rest the three following.

To reduce my labour as much as possible, I was constrained to make the passage so small, that my body only had space to pass, and I had not room to draw my arm back to my head. The work too must all be done naked, otherwise the dirtiness of my shirt must have been remarked: the sand was wet, water being found at the depth of four feet, where the stratum of gravel began. At length the expedient of sand bags occurred to me, by which it might be removed out, and more expeditiously. I obtained linen from the officers, but not in sufficient quantities: suspicions would have been excited at observing so much linen brought into the prison. At last I took my sheets, and the ticken that inclosed my straw, and cut them up for sand-bags, taking care to lie down on my bed as if ill, when Bruckhausen paid his visits.

The labour towards the conclusion became so intolerable as to excite despondency. I frequently sat contemplating the heaps of sand, during a momentary respite from work, and thinking it impossible I could have strength or time again to replace all things as they were, resolved patiently to wait the consequence, and leave every thing in its present disorder. I can assure the reader, that to effect concealment, I have scarcely had time in twenty four hours to sit down and eat a morsel of bread. Recollecting however the prodigious efforts, and all the progress I had made, hope would again revive, and exhausted strength return; again would I begin my labours, that I might preserve my secret and my expectations; yet has it frequently happened that my visitors have entered a few minutes after I had reinstated every thing in its place.

When my work was within six or seven feet of being accomplished a new misfortune happened, that at once frustrated all further attempts. I worked, as I have said, under the foundation of the rampart, near where the sentinels stood. I could disencumber myself

of my fetters, except my neck-collar and its pendent chain. This, as I worked, though it had been fastened, got loose, and the clanking was heard by the sentinels about fifteen feet from my dungeon. The officer was called, they laid their ears to the ground, and heard me as I went backward and forward to bring my earth bags. This was reported the next day, and the major, who was my best friend, with the town-major, and a smith and mason, entered my prison—I was terrified.—The lieutenant by a sign gave me to understand I was discovered.

An examination was begun, but the officers would not see, and the smith and mason found every thing as they thought safe. Had they examined my bed, they would have seen the ticken and sheets were gone.

The town-major was a dull man, was persuaded the thing was impossible, and said to the sentinel, “Block-head! you have heard some mole under ground, and not Trenck. How indeed could it be, that he should work under ground at such a distance from his dungeon?” Here the scrutiny ended.

There was now no time for delay. Had they altered their hour of coming, they must have found me at work; but this, during ten years, never happened, for the governor and town-major were stupid men, and the others wishing me all success, were wilfully blind. In a few days I could have broken out, but, when prepared, wished to wait for the visitation day of the man who had treated me so tyrannically, Bruckhausen, that his own negligence might be evident; but this man, though he wanted understanding, did not want good fortune. He was ill for some time, and his duty devolved on K——.

He recovered, and the visitation being over, the doors were no sooner barred than I began my supposed last labour. I had only three feet further to proceed, and it was no longer necessary I should bring out the sand, I having room enough to throw it behind me. What my anxiety was, what my exertions were, may well be imagined. My evil genius, however, had decreed, that the same sentinel who had heard me before should be that day on guard. He was piqued by vanity, to prove he was not the blockhead he had been called: he therefore again laid his ear to the ground, and again

heard me burrowing. He called his comrades first, next the major: he came and heard me likewise; accordingly they went without the palisadoes, and heard me working near the door, at which place I was to break into the gallery.—This door they immediately opened, entered the gallery with lanterns, and waited to catch the hunted fox when unearthed.

Through the first small breach I made, I perceived a light, and saw the heads of those who were expecting me. This was indeed a thunder stroke!—I crept back, made my way through the sand I had cast behind me, and awaited my fate with shuddering! I had still the presence of mind to conceal my pistols, candles, paper, and some money under the floor, which I could remove.—The money was disposed of in various holes, well concealed also between the pannels of the doors; and under different cracks in the floor I hid my small files and knives.

Scarcely were these disposed of before the doors resounded; the floor was covered with sand bags; my hand cuffs however and the separating bar, I had hastily resumed, that they might suppose I had worked with them on, which they were silly enough to credit, highly to my future advantage.

No man was more busy on this occasion than the brutal and stupid Bruckhausen, who put many interrogatories, to which I made no reply, except assuring him, that I should have completed my work some days sooner, had it not been his good fortune to fall sick, and that this only had been the cause of my failure.

The man was absolutely terrified with apprehension: he began to fear me, grew more polite, and even supposed nothing was impossible to me.

It was too late to remove the sand; therefore the lieutenant and guard continued with me, so that this night at least I did not want company.

When the morning came, the hole was first filled and walled up, and the planking was renewed. The tyrant Borck was ill, and could not come, otherwise my treatment would have been more lamentable. The smiths had ended before the evening, and the irons were heavier than ever. The foot chains, instead of being fastened as before, were screwed and rivetted:

all things else remained as formerly. They were employed in the flooring till next day, so I could not sleep, and at last I sunk down with weariness.

The greatest of my misfortunes was, they again deprived me of my bed, because I had cut it up for sand bags, before the doors were barred. Bruckhausen, and another major, examined my body very narrowly. They often asked me where I had concealed all my implements? My answer was, "Gentlemen, Beelzebub is my best and most intimate friend; he brings me every thing I want, supplies me with light, we play whole nights at piquet, and guard me as you please, he will finally deliver me out of your power."

Some were astonished, others laughed. At length, as they were barring the last door, I called, "Come back, gentlemen! you have forgotten something of great importance." In the interim, I had taken up one of my hidden files. When they returned, "Look ye gentlemen," said I, "here is a proof of the friendship Beelzebub has for me; he has brought me this in a twinkling." Again they examined, and again they shut the doors. While they were so doing, I took out a knife, and ten louis-d'ors, called, and they returned, grumbling curses: I then showed them the knife and the louis-d'ors. Their consternation was excessive; and I diverted my misfortunes, by jesting at such blundering, short-sighted keepers.

It was runered through Magdeburgh, especially among the simple and the vulgar, that I was a magician to whom the devil brought all I asked.

One major Holtzkammer, a very foolish man, profited by this report. A foolish citizen offered him fifty dollars, if he might only be permitted to see me through the doors, being very desirous to have a peep at a wizard. Holtzkammer told me, and we jointly determined to sport with his credulity. The major gave me a mask with a monstrous nose, which I put on when the doors were opening and threw myself into an heroic attitude. The affrighted burgher drew back, but Holtzkammer stopped him, and said, have patience but for some quarter of an hour, and you shall see he will assume quite a different countenance. The burgher waited, my mask was thrown by, and my face



appeared whitened with chalk, and made ghastly. The burgher again thrank back ; Holtzkammer kept him in conversation, and I assumed a third farcical form. I tied my hair under my nose, and a pewter dish to my breast, and when the door a third time opened, I thundered, " Begone, rascals, or I'll set your necks awry." They both ran ; and the silly burgher, cased of his fifty dollars, scampered first.

The major in vain laid his injunctions on the burgher never to reveal what he had beheld, it being a breach of duty in him to admit any person whatever to a sight of me. In a few days, the necromancer, Trenck, was the theme of every ale-house in Magdeburgh, and the person was named who had seen me change my form thrice in the space of one hour. Many false and ridiculous circumstances were added, and at last the story reached the governor's ears. The citizen was cited, and offered to take his oath to the truth of what himself and the major had seen. Holtzkammer, accordingly, suffered a severe reprimand, and was for some days put under arrest. We frequently laughed, however, at this adventure, which had rendered me so much the subject of conversation. Miraculous reports were the more easily credited, because no one could comprehend how, in despite of the load of irons I carried, and all the vigilance of the guards, I should be continually able to make new attempts, while those appointed to examine my dungeon, seemed, as it were, blinded and bewildered. A proof, this, how easy it is to deceive the credulous, and whence have originated witchcrafts, prophecies, and miracles.

My last undertaking had employed me more than twelve months and so weakened me, that I appeared little better than a skeleton. Notwithstanding the greatness of my spirit, I should have sunk into despondency at seeing an end like this, to all my labours, had I not still cherished a secret hope of escaping, founded on the friends I had gained among the officers.

I soon felt the effects of the loss of my bed, and was a second time attacked by a violent fever, which would this time certainly have consumed me, had not the officers, unknown to the governor, treated me with

all possible compassion. Bruckhausen, alone, continued my enemy, and the slave of his orders: on his day of examination, rules and commands in all their rigour, were observed; nor durst I free myself from my irons, till I had for some weeks remarked those parts on which he invariably fixed his attention. I then cut through the link, and closed up the vacancy with bread. My hands I could always draw out, especially after illness had consumed the flesh off my bones. Half a year had elapsed before I had recovered sufficient strength to undertake, anew, labours, like the past.

Necessity, at length taught me the means of driving Bruckhausen from my dungeon, and of inducing him to commit his office to another. I learnt his olfactory nerves were somewhat delicate; and, whenever I heard the doors unbar, I took care to make a stir in my night-table. This made him give back, and at length he would come no farther than the door.

One day he came, bloated with pride, just after a courier had brought the news of victory, and spoke of the Austrians, and the august person of the empress queen, with so much virulence, that at last, enraged almost to madness, I snatched the sword of an officer from its sheath, and should certainly have ended him, had he not made a hasty retreat. From that day forward he durst no more come without guards to examine the dungeon.——Two men always preceded him with their bayonets fixed, and their pieces presented, behind whom he stood at the door. This was another fortunate incident, as I dreaded only his examination.

The following anecdote will afford a specimen of this man's understanding. While digging in the earth I found a cannon ball, and laid it in the middle of my prison. When he came to examine—"What, in the name of God, is that?" said he. "It is a part of the ammunition," answered I, that my familiar brings me. The cannon will be here anon, and you will then see fine sport!" He was astonished told this to others, nor could conceive such a ball might by any natural means enter my prison.

I wrote a satire on him, when the late landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was governor of Magdeburg, and I had permission to write. The landgrave gave it to him, to read himself; and, so gross was his conception, that though his own phraseology was introduced, part of his history, and character painted, yet did he not perceive the jest, but laughed heartily with the hearers. The landgrave was highly diverted, and after I obtained my freedom, restored me the manuscript, written in my own blood.

About the time that my last attempt at escaping failed, general Krusemarck came to my prison, whom I had formerly lived with in habits of intimacy, when cornet of the body-guard. Without testifying friendship, esteem, or compassion, he asked, among other things, in an authoritative tone, how I could employ my time to prevent tediousness. I answered in as haughty a mood as he interrogated; for never could misfortune bend my mind. I told him, "I always could find sources of entertainment in my own thoughts, and that, as for my dreams, I imagined they would, at least be as peaceful and pleasant as those of my oppressors." "Had you, in time," replied he, "curbed this fervour of yours, had you asked pardon of the king perhaps you would have been in very different circumstances; but, he, who has committed an offence, in which he obstinately persists, endeavouring only to obtain freedom by seducing men from their duty, deserves no better fate."

Justly was my anger roused!—"Sir," answered I, "you are a general of the Prussian king; I am an Austrian captain. My royal mistress will protect, perhaps deliver me, or at least revenge my death. I have a conscience void of reproach. You, yourself, well know, I have not deserved these chains. I place my hope in time, and the justice of my cause calumniated and condemned, as I have been, without legal sentence or hearing. In such a situation, the philosopher will always be able to brave and despise the tyrant."

He departed with threats, and his last words were, "The bird shall soon be taught to sing another tune." The effects of this courteous visit were soon felt. An order came that I should be prevented sleeping, and

that the sentinels should call and wake me, every quarter of an hour, which dreadful order was immediately executed.

With whom these orders originated, unexampled in the history even of tyranny, I shall not venture to say. The major, who was my friend, advised me to persist in not answering. I followed his advice, and it produced this good effect, that we mutually forced each other to a capitulation : they restored me my bed, and I was obliged to reply.

Immediately after this regulation, the sub-governor Borck, my bitter enemy, became insane, was dispossessed of his post, and lieutenant colonel Reichman, the benevolent friend of humanity, was made sub-governor.

About the same time the court fled from Berlin, and the queen, the prince of Prussia, the princess Amelia, and the margrave Henry, chose Magdeburg for their residence. Bruckhausen grew more polite, probably perceiving I was not wholly deserted, and that it was yet possible I might obtain my freedom. The cruel are; usually cowards, and there is reason to suppose Bruckhausen was actuated by his fears, to treat me with respect.

The worthy new governor had not indeed the power to lighten my chains, or alter the general regulations: what he could he did. If he did not command, he connived at the doors being occasionally at first, and at length daily, kept open some hours to admit daylight and fresh air.—After a time, they were open the whole day, and only closed by the officers, when they returned from their visit to Walrabe.

Having light, I began to carve with a nail on the pewter cup in which I drank, satirical verses, and various figures, and attained so much perfection, that my cups at last were considered as master-pieces, both of engraving and invention, and were sold dear as rare curiosities. My first attempts were rude, as may well be imagined. My cup was carried to town, and shown to visitors by the governor, who sent me another. I improved, and each of the inspecting officers wished to possess one. I grew more expert, and spent a whole year in this employment, which thus passed quickly away. The perfection I had now acquired, obtained me

the permission of candle-light, and this continued till I was restored to freedom.

The king gave orders these cups should all be inspected by government, because I wished by my verses and devices, to inform the world of my fate. But this command was not obeyed; the officers made merchandize of their cups, and sold them at last for twelve ducats each. Their value increased so much, when I was released from prison, that they are now to be found in various museums throughout Europe. Twelve years ago the late landgrave of Hesse Cassel, presented one of them to my wife; and another came, in a very unaccountable manner, from the queen dowager to Paris. I have given prints of both these, with the verses they contained in my works; whence it may be seen how artificially they were engraved. A third fell into the hands of prince Augustus Lobkowitz, then a prisoner of war at Magdeburg, who on his return to Vienna, presented it to the emperor, who placed it in his museum. Among other devices on this cup, was a landscape representing a vineyard and husbandmen, and under it the following words: *By my labour my vineyard for-rished, and I hoped to have gathered the fruit; but Ahab came. Alas! for Naboth.*

The allusion was so pointed, both to the wrongs done me in Vienna, and by sufferings in Prussia, that it made a very strong impression on the empress queen, who immediately commanded her minister to make every possible exertion for my deliverance. She would probably at last have even restored me to my estates, had not the possessors of them been so powerful, or had she herself lived one year longer. To these my engraved cups was I indebted for being once more remembered at Vienna. On the same cup also was another engraving of a bird in a cage, held by a Turk, with the following inscription: *The bird sings even in the storm; open his cage, break his fitters, ye friends of virtue, and his songs shall be the delight of your abodes!*

There is another remarkable circumstance attending these cups. All were forbidden under pain of death to hold conversation with me, or to supply me with pen and ink; yet by this open permission of writing what I pleased on pewter, was I enabled to inform the world

of all I wished, and to prove a man of merit was oppressed. The difficulties of this engraving will be conceived, when it is remembered that I worked by candlelight on shining pewter, attained the art of giving light and shade, and by practice could divide a cup into two and thirty compartments, as regularly with a stroke of the hand, as with a pair of compasses. The writing was so minute that it could be only read with glasses. I could use but one hand, both being separated by the bar, and therefore held the cup between my knees. My sole instrument was a sharpened nail, yet did I write two lines on the rim only.

My labour became so excessive, that I was in danger of distraction or blindness. Every body wished for cups, and I wished to oblige every body, so that I worked eighteen hours a day. The reflection of the light from the pewter was injurious to my eyes, and the labour of invention, for apposite subjects and verses was most fatiguing. I had learnt only architectural drawing.

Enough of these cups, which procured me so much honour, so many advantages, and helped to shorten so many mournful hours. My greatest incumbrance was, the huge iron collar, with its enormous appendages, which, when suffered to press the arteries in the back of my neck, occasioned intolerable head-achs. I sat too much, and a third time fell sick. A Brunswick sausage, secretly given me by a friend, occasioned an indigestion, which endangered my life; a putrid fever followed, and my body was reduced to a skeleton. Medicines, however, were conveyed to me by the officers, and, now and then, warm food.

After my recovery, I again thought it necessary to endeavour to regain my liberty. I had but forty louis-d'ors remaining, and these I could not get till I had first broken up the flooring:

Lieutenant Sonntag was consumptive, and obtained his discharge. I supplied him with money to defray the expenses of his journey, and with an order that four hundred florins should be annually paid him from my effects till his death, or my release. I commissioned him to seek an audience from the empress, endeavour to excite her compassion in my behalf, and to remit me four thousand florins, for which I gave her a proper ac-

quittance, by the way of Hamburg. The money-draught was addressed to my administrators, counsellors Kempf and Huttner.

But no one alas ! in Vienna wished my return : they had already begun to share my property, of which they never rendered me an account. Poor Sonntag was arrested as a spy, imprisoned, ill treated for some weeks, at last, when naked and destitute, received a hundred florins, and was escorted beyond the Austrian confines. The worthy man fell a shameful sacrifice to his honesty, could never obtain an audience of the empress, and returned poor and miserable on foot to Berlin, where he was twelve months secretly maintained by his brother, with whom he died. He wrote an account of all this to the good Knoblauch, my Hamburg agent, and I from my small store sent him a hundred ducats.

A friend, by the aid of one of the lieutenants, secretly visited, and supplied me with six hundred ducats. This friend, in the year 1763, paid four thousand florins to the Imperial envoy, baron Riedt, at Berlin, for the furthering of my freedom.

About this time the French army advanced to within five miles of Magdeburg. This important fortress was, at that time, the key of the whole Prussian power. It required a garrison of sixteen thousand men, and contained not more than fifteen hundred.—The French might have marched in unopposed, and at once have put an end to the war. The officers brought me all the news, and my hopes rose, as they approached. What was my astonishment when the major informed me, three waggons had entered the town in the night, had been sent back loaded with money, and that the French were retreating ! Nor only were my hopes this way frustrated, but in Russia, likewise, where the counts of Bestuchef, and the chancellor were fallen into disgrace.

I now imagined another, and indeed a fearful and dangerous project. The garrison of Magdeburg, at this moment, consisted but of nine hundred militia, who were discontented men. Two majors and two lieutenants, were in my interest. The guard of the Star Fort amounted to but a hundred and fifteen men. Fronting the gate of this fort, was the town-gate.

guarded only by twelve men and an inferior officer : beside these lay the casemates, in which were seven thousand Croat prisoners. Baron K—, a captain, and a prisoner of war, also was in our interest and would hold his comrades ready, at a certain place and time, to support my undertaking. Another friend was, under some pretence, to hold his company ready, with their muskets loaded, and the plan was such, that I should have had four hundred men in arms, to carry it into execution.

The officer was to have placed the two men we most suspected, and feared, as sentinels over me ; he was to command them to take away my bed, and when encumbered, I was to spring out, and shut them in the prison. Clothing and arms were to have been procured, and brought me into my prison ; the town-gate was to have been surprised, I was to have run to the casemate, and called to the Croats, “ Trenck ! to arms ! ” My friends, at the same instant, were to break forth, and the plan was so well concerted, that it could not have failed. Magdeburg, the magazine of the army, the royal treasury, arsenal, all would have been mine ; and sixteen thousand men, who were then prisoners of war, would have enabled me to keep possession.

The most essential secret, by which all this was to have been effected, I dare not reveal ; suffice it to say, every thing was provided for, every thing secure ; I shall only add, that the garrison, in the harvest months was exceedingly weakened because the farmers paid the captains a florin per man each day, and the men for their labour likewise, to obtain hands. The sub-governor connived at the practice.

One lieutenant G— procured a furlough to visit his friends, but, supplied by me with money, he went to Vienna. I furnished him with a letter addressed to counsellors Kempf and Huttner, including a draught for two thousand ducats ; wherein I said that, by these means, I should not only soon be at liberty, but in possession of the fortress of Magdeburg ; and the bearer was intrusted with the rest.

The lieutenant came safe to Vienna, underwent a thousand interrogatories, and his name was repeatedly



asked. This, fortunately, he concealed. They advised him not to be concerned in so dangerous an undertaking; told him I had not so much money due to me, and gave him, instead of two thousand ducats, one thousand florins. With these he left Vienna, but with very prudent suspicions, which prevented him ever more returning to Magdeburg. A month had scarcely passed, before the late landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, then chief governor, entered my prison, showed me my letter, and demanded to know who had carried the letter, and who were to free me and betray Magdeburg. Whether the letter was sent immediately to the king, or the governor, I know not; it is sufficient that I was oncemore betrayed at Vienna. The truth was, the administrators of my effects had acted as if I were deceased, and chose not to refund two thousand ducats. They wished not I should obtain my freedom, in a manner that would have obliged the government to reward me, and restore the effects they had embezzled and the estates they had seized. What happened afterward in Vienna, will incontestably prove this surmise to be well founded.

My consternation, on the appearance of the landgrave, with my letter in his hand, may well be supposed: I had the presence of mind, however, to deny my hand-writing, and affect astonishment at so crafty a trick. The landgrave endeavoured to convict me, told me what lieutenant Kemnitz had repeated at Vienna, concerning my possessing myself of Magdeburg and thereby showed me how fully I had been betrayed. But, as no such person existed as lieutenant Kemnitz, and as my friend had fortunately concealed his name, the mystery remained impenetrable, especially, as no one could conceive how a prisoner, in my situation, could seduce, or subdue, the whole garrison. The worthy prince left my prison, apparently satisfied with my defence; his heart felt not satisfaction in the misfortunes of others.

The next day, a formal examination was taken, at which the sub-governor, Reichmann, presided. I was accused as a traitor to my country, but I obstinately denied my hand-writing. Proofs, or witnesses, there were none, and in answer to the principal charge, I

aid, " I was no criminal, but a man calumniated, illegally imprisoned, and loaded with irons ; that the king, in the year 1746, had cashiered me, and confiscated my paternal inheritance ; that, therefore, the laws of nature enforced me to seek honour and bread in a foreign service ; and that finding these in Austria, I was become an officer, and a faithful subject of the empress-queen ; that I had been, a second time, unoffendingly imprisoned ; that here I was treated as the worst of malefactors, and that my only resource was, to seek my liberty by such means as I could : were I, therefore, in this attempt, to destroy the very town of Magdeburg, and occasion the loss of a thousand lives, I should still be guiltless. Had I been heard and legally sentenced, previous to my imprisonment at Glatz, I should have been, and continued, a criminal ; but not having been guilty of any small, much less of any great, crime equal to my punishment, if such crime could be, I was, therefore, not accountable for consequences : I owed neither fidelity nor duty to the king of Prussia ; for by the word of his power, he had deprived me of bread, honour, country and freedom.

Here the examination ended, without further discovery ; the officers, however, falling under suspicion, were all removed, and thus I lost my best friends ; yet it was not long before I had gained two others, which was no difficult matter, as I knew the national character, and that none but poor men were made militia officers. Thus was the governor's precaution fruitless, and every body secretly wished I might obtain my freedom.

I shall never forget the noble manner in which I was treated on this occasion by the landgrave—When I, not long afterward, fell ill, he sent me his own physician, and meat from his table, nor would he suffer me, during two months, to be awakened, by the sentinels. He, likewise, removed the dreadful collar from my neck ; for which he was severely reprimanded by the king, as he, himself has since assured me.

When I had once more gained the officers, I made a new attempt at mining my way out. Not wanting

for implements, my chains and the flooring were soon cut through, and all was so carefully replaced, I was under no fear of examination. I here found my concealed money, pistols and other necessities, but till I had rid myself of some hundred weight of sand, it was impossible to proceed. For this purpose, I made two different openings in the floor : out of the real hole, I threw a great quantity of sand into my prison ; after which I closed it with all possible care. I then worked at the second, with so much noise, that I was certain they must hear me, without. About midnight the doors began to thunder, and in they came, detecting me, as I intended they should—None of them could conceive why I should wish to break out under the door, where there was a triple guard to pass. The sentinels remained, and in the morning, prisoners were sent to wheel away the sand. The hole was walled up and boarded, and my fetters were renewed. They laughed at the ridiculousness of my undertaking, but punished me by depriving me of my light and bed, which, however, in a fortnight, were restored. Of the other hole, out of which most of the earth had been thrown, no one was aware. The major and lieutenant were too much my friends to remark, that they had removed thrice the quantity of sand the false opening could contain. They supposed, this strange attempt having failed, it would be my last, and Bruckhausen grew negligent.

The governor and sub-governor both visited me, after some weeks, but, far from the brutality of Borek, the landgrave spoke to me with great mildness, promised me his interest to regain my freedom, when the peace should be concluded ; told me I had more friends than I might suppose and assured me, I had not been quite forgotten by the court of Vienna. The manner in which I answered him, moved him to the soul : in vain he endeavoured to hide his tears, while I, in a moment of exquisite sensibility, fell at his feet, arose, and pleaded like Cicero, happy to have met with a prince, who thought, and felt, like a man.

He promised me every alleviation, and I gave him my word of honour I would never more attempt to escape while he remained governor. The manner in

which I spoke, enforced conviction, and it was then he ordered my neck collar to be taken off, my window to be unclosed, my doors every day to be two hours open, a stove, which I might light myself, to be put in my dungeon, finer linen for my shirts, and paper to amuse myself. The sheets of paper were to be numbered, when given, and when returned, by the town-major, that I might not abuse this liberty.

Ink was not allowed me, I therefore pricked my finger, suffered the blood to trickle into a pot, and when coagulated, warmed it again in my hand, throwing away the fibrous parts that would not liquefy; by this means I procured a succedaneum for ink, both to write and draw.

I now busied myself with engraving my cups and versifying. I had free opportunity to display such abilities as I possessed, to excite esteem and awaken compassion. My emulation was increased by the knowledge that my productions were seen and read at courts, and that the princess Amelia and the queen herself testified their satisfaction. I had soon subjects sent me; and the wretch whom the king intended to immure and bury alive, whose name no man was to mention, never lived to better purpose, nor was more famous than while he vented his groans in this dungeon. My writings produced their effect, and in reality regained my freedom. To my cultivation of the sciences and presence of mind in danger, am I indebted for all: these could not all the power of Frederic deprive me of; by these I obtained that which he in his wrath and the might of his despotism, had intended to take from me eternally! Yes! this liberty I procured, though he had continually answered to all petitions in my behalf—"He is a dangerous man; and so long as I have life, he shall never see light!"

I return to my dungeon. Here after my last conference with the landgrave, I waited my coming fate, with a mind more at ease than that of many a prince in his palace. My dawn of hope daily grew more bright. The newspapers they brought me foretold approaching peace, on which all my dependence was placed, and I passed eighteen months calmly and without further attempt.

The father of the landgrave died ; he had till then been only hereditary prince ; and Magdeburg now lost its noble governor. The worthy Reichmann however testified for me all compassion and esteem. I had books, my time was employed, and therefore stole unperceived away. Imprisonment and chains, to me were become habitual, and freedom in all her lovely forms, sleeping and awake approached.

About this time I wrote a great variety of poems, the most and the best of which are now lost to me. When I was set at liberty I had none but such as I remembered, and these I committed to writing. On my first personal visit to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, I received a volume of them written in my own blood ; but there were certainly eight of these which I shall scarcely ever regain.

The death of Elizabeth, the deposing of Peter III. and the accession of Catharine II. produced peace. On the receipt of this intelligence, I endeavoured to provide for all possible contingencies. The worthy captain K—— had opened me a correspondence with Vienna ; I was assured of support ; but was likewise assured the administrators and those who possessed my estates, would throw every possible impediment in the way of freedom. I endeavoured to persuade another officer to aid my escape, but in vain : no second Schell was to be found. The will consented ; but the heart recoiled.

I therefore, opened my old hole, and my friends assisted me, all in their power, further to disencumber myself of sand. My money melted away, but they provided me with tools, gun powder, and a good sword. I had remained so long quiet, that my flooring was no more examined.

My intent was to wait the peace, and should I still continue in chains, then would I have my subterranean passage to the rampart ready for escape. For my further security, an old lieutenant had, with my money purchased a house in the suburbs, where I might lie concealed. Jünnern, in Saxony is only two miles from Magdeburg : here a friend with two good horses, was to wait a whole year ; to ride on the glaciis of Kloster-

bergen, on the first and fifteenth of each month, and, at a given signal, to hasten to my assistance.

My passage was to be ready in case of emergency ; I therefore, removed the planking, broke up the two underbeds, cut the boards into chips and burnt them in my stove. By this I obtained so much additional room as to proceed half way with my mine. Linen again was brought me, sand bags made, and thus I successfully proceeded to all but the last operation. Every thing was afterwards so well closed and concealed, that I had nothing to fear from the narrowest inspection, sufficient of the under flooring being left to support the upper, and it appeared doubly nailed as before, to avoid suspicion, especially as the new-come garrison could not know what was the original length of the planks.

This severe labour reduced me again to a very feeble state of body ; and while mining under the foundation of the rampart, just as I was going to carry out the sand bag, I struck my foot against a stone in the wall above, which fell down and closed up the passage.

What was my horror to find myself thus buried alive ! After a short time for reflection, I began to work the sand away from the side, that I might obtain room to turn round. By good fortune, there were some feet of empty space, into which I threw the sand as I worked it away ; but the small quantity of air soon made it so foul, that I a thousand times wished myself dead, and made several attempts to strangle myself. Further labour began to seem impossible. Thirst almost deprived me of my senses, but as often as I put my mouth to the sand, I inhaled fresh air. My sufferings were incredible, and I imagined I passed full eight hours in this distraction of horror. Of all dreadful deaths, surely such a death as this is the most dreadful. My spirits fainted ; again I somewhat recovered, again I began to labour, but the earth was as high as my chin, and I had no more space into which I might throw the sand, that I might turn round. I made a more desperate effort, drew my body into a ball, and turned around. I now faced the stone, which was as wide as the whole passage, but there being an opening at top, I respired fresh air. My next labour was, to root a-

way the sand under the stone and let it sink, so that I might creep over, and by this means at length I once more happily arrived in my dungeon.

The morning was advanced ; I sat myself down so exhausted, that I supposed it was impossible I had time or strength to cover up and conceal my hole. After half an hour's rest, however, my fortitude returned : again I went to work, and scarcely had I ended, before the resounding locks and bolts told the approach of my visitors.

They found me pale as death : I complained of the head-ach, and continued some days so much affected, by the fatigue I had sustained, that I began to imagine my lungs were impaired. After a time health and strength returned, but perhaps of all my nights of horror, this was the most horrible. I long repeatedly dreamed I was buried alive in the centre of the earth ; and now, though three and twenty years are elapsed, my sleep is still haunted by this vision.

After this accident, whenever I worked in my cavity, I hung a knife round my neck, that in case I should be again so enclosed, I might shorten my miseries. Over the stone that had fallen, were several others that hung tottering, under which I was several hundred times obliged to creep.

When my passage was ready, so that I could break out when I pleased, I wrote several letters to my friends at Vienna, and also an impassionate memorial to my sovereign. When the militia left Magdeburg, and the regulars returned, I took an affectionate leave of my friends, who had behaved to me with so much humanity, and so benevolently supplied my wants. Several weeks elapsed before they departed, and I learnt that general Reidt was appointed ambassador from Vienna to Berlin.

I knew this general was not averse to a bribe ; I wrote him a moving letter, conjuring him not to abandon me, and to act with perhaps more ardor in my behalf than his instructions might imply : I enclosed a draught for six thousand florins on my effects at Vienna, and he received four thousand more from one of my relations. I have to thank these ten thousand florins for my freedom, which I obtained nine months after.

I received intelligence, before the garrison departed, that no stipulation had been made on my behalf at the treaty of Hubertberg\*. The Vienna plenipotentiaries, after, and not before the articles were signed, mentioned my name to Hertzberg, but with little earnestness of solicitation.—From Berlin indeed I received private assurances of every effort being made to move Frederic, a promise on which I could much better rely than on my protectors at Vienna, who so many years had left me in misfortune. I therefore determined to wait three months longer, and should I still find myself neglected, to owe my escape to myself.

On the change of the garrison, the officers, being all of the nobility, were much more difficult to gain than the former. The majors literally obeyed their orders; their help was unnecessary; but still I longed for my old friends. I had only ammunition bread again for food, as no one supplied me with the least comfortable addition.

My time hung very heavy; every thing was carefully examined on the change of the garrison. A still stricter scrutiny might occur, and all my projects be discovered. This had nearly been effected by accident, as I shall here relate. I had two years before so tamed a mouse, that it would play round me, and eat from my mouth: in this small animal I discovered proofs of intelligence, too great easily to gain belief.

This intelligent mouse had nearly been my ruin. I had diverted myself with it during the night; it had been nibbling at my door, and capering on a trencher. The sentinels happening to hear our amusement, called the officers; they heard also, and added, all was not right in my dungeon. At day-break my doors resounded; the town-major, a smith, and mason entered: strict search was begun: flooring, walls, chains, and my own person, were all scrutinized: but in vain. They asked what was the noise they had heard? I mentioned the mouse, whistled, and it came and jumped upon my shoulder. Orders were given: should be deprived of its society; I earnestly entreated they should

\* The release of Trenck was so feebly mentioned by the Austrian plenipotentiary, that Hertzberg, the Prussian minister took not the least notice of the affair. T.



spare its life. The officer on guard gave me his word of honor he would present it to a lady, who would treat it with the utmost tenderness.

He took it away, turned it loose in the guard-room, but it was tame to me alone, and sought a hiding place. It had fled to my prison door, and at the hour of visitation, ran into my dungeon, immediately testifying its joy by its antic leaping between my legs. It is worthy of remark, that it had been taken away blindfold, that is to say, wrapped in a handkerchief. The guard-room was a hundred paces from my dungeon. How then did it find its master? Did it know, or did it wait for the hour of visitation? Had it remarked the doors were daily opened?

All were desirous of obtaining this mouse, but the major carried it off for his lady; she put it into a cage, where it pined, refused all sustenance, and in a few days was found dead.

The loss of this little companion made me for some time quite melancholy; yet, on the last examination, I perceived it had so eaten away the bread, by which I had concealed the crevices I had made in cutting the floor, that the examiners must be all but blind not to discover them. I was convinced my faithful little friend had fallen a necessary victim to his master's safety.—My keepers were persuaded I had neither the will nor the power to make further attempts at freedom. This accident, however, determined me not to wait even the three months.

I have already related, horses were to be kept ready on the first and fifteenth, and I only suffered the first of August to pass, because I would not injure the worthy major Psuhl, who had treated me with more compassion than his comrades, and whose day of visitation it was. On the 15th I determined to fly. This resolution formed, I waited in anxious expectation of the day, when a new and most remarkable succession of accidents again happened.

An alarm of fire had obliged the major of the day to repair in haste to the town; he therefore committed the keys to the lieutenant. The latter, coming to visit me, with a look of compassion, asked—"Dear Trenck, have you never during seven years that you have been under the guard of the militia, found a man like Schell?"

"Alas! Sir," answered I, "such friends are indeed rare: the will of many has been good: each knew I could make his fortune, but none had courage enough to make so desperate an attempt! Money I have distributed freely, but have received little help."

"Money! how do you obtain money in this dungeon?" "From a secret correspondent at Vienna, by whom I am still supplied. If I can serve you, command me: I will do it willingly, without asking any return." So saying, I immediately took fifty ducats from between the pannels, and gave them to him. At first he refused, but, at length, accepted them with fear.—He left me, promised to return, pretended to shut the door, and kept his word. He now avowed, debt obliged him to desert, that had long been his determination, and that; could he assist me, at the same time, he was ready and willing. I had only to show how this might be effected.

We continued two hours in conference; a plan was soon formed; approved, and almost a certainty of success demonstrated; especially, when I told him I had two horses in waiting. We vowed eternal friendship. I gave him fifty additional ducats, and he had never before been so rich; his whole debts, which would oblige him to desert, not amounting to more than two hundred rix dollars, which, however, he never could have discharged out of his pay.

He was to prepare four keys, that were to resemble those of my dungeon; the latter were to be exchanged on the day of flight, being kept in the guard-room while the major was with general Walrabe. He was to give the grenadiers on guard leave of absence for some hours, or send them into the town on various pretences. The sentinels at the gate he was to call from their duty, and those placed over me, were to be sent into my dungeon, to take away my bed; while encumbered with this, I was to spring out, and lock them in, after which we were to mount our horses, kept ready, and ride full speed to Gummern. Every thing was to be prepared within a week, when he again was to mount guard. We had scarcely fully formed our project before the sentinels called, the major was coming; he accordingly hastily barred up the doors, and the major passed to general Walrabe.

No man now was happier than myself, though I was in a dungeon. My hopes of escape were triple ; the mediation at Berlin, the mine I had made, and my new friend, the lieutenant.

Intoxicated with hope and joy, then, when most my mind ought to have been cool and clear, I seemed to have lost my understanding. I came to a resolution which will appear, to every reasonable man, extravagant, absurd, pitiable. I was vain enough, stupid enough, mad enough, to form the design of casting myself on the generosity and magnanimity of the Great Frederic !—Should this fail, I still thought my lieutenant a certain saviour.

Having heated my imagination with this lamentable scheme, I expected the hour of visitation with anxiety. The major entered ; I bespoke him thus :

“ I know, sir, the great prince Ferdinand is again at Magdeburg.” (My new friend had told me this.)

“ Be pleased to inform him, that he may first examine my prison, double the sentinels, and afterward give me his commands, stating at what hour it will please him I should make my appearance, in perfect freedom, on the glacis of Klosterbergen. If I prove myself capable of this, I then hope for the protection of prince Ferdinand, and that he will relate my proceeding to the king, who may thereby be convinced of my innocence, and the perfect clearness of my conscience.”

The major was astonished ; supposed my brain turned. The proposal he held to be ridiculous, and the performance impossible. I, however, persisted ; he rode to town, and returned with the sub-governor, Reichmann ; the town-major Riding ; and the major of inspection. The answer they delivered was—That the prince promised me his protection, the king's favour, and a certain release from my chains, should I prove my assertion. I required they would appoint a time, they ridiculed the thing as impossible, and, at last said, that it would be sufficient, could I only prove the practicability of such a scheme ; but should I refuse, they would immediately break up the whole flooring, and place sentinels in my dungeon night and day ; adding the governor would not admit of any actual breaking out.

After the most solemn promises of faith, I immediately disencumbered myself of my chains, raised up my flooring, gave them my arms and implements, and also two keys, that my friend had procured me, to the doors of the subterranean gallery. This gallery I desired them to enter, and found with their sword hilts at the place through which I was to break, which might be done in a few minutes. I further described the road I was to take through the gallery, informed them, that two of the doors had not been shut for six months and to the others they already had the keys ; adding, I had horses waiting at the glacis, that would be immediately ready ; the stables for which were unknown to them.

They went, examined, returned, put questions, which I answered with as much precision as the engineer who built the Star-Fort could have done. They left me with seeming friendship, continued away about an hour, came back, told me the prince was astonished at what he had heard, that he wished me all happiness, and then took me unfettered to the guard-house. The major came in the evening, treated us with a sumptuous supper, assured me every thing would happen to my wishes, and that prince Ferdinand had already written to Berlin.

The guard was reinforced next day : two grenadiers entered the officers' room as sentinels. The whole guard loaded, with ball before my eyes, the draw bridges were raised in open day, and precautions were taken as if it were supposed I intended to make attempts as desperate as those I had made at Glatz.—I now saw numerous workmen employed in my dungeon and carts bringing quarry-stones. The officers on guard behaved with great kindness, kept a good table, at which I ate, but two sentinels, and an under-officer never quitted the guard-room. Conversation was very cautious, and this continued five or six days : at length, it was my new friend, the lieutenant's turn to mount guard : he appeared to be as friendly as formerly, but conference was difficult : he, however, found an opportunity to express his astonishment at my ill-timed discovery, told me the prince knew nothing of the affair, and that the report propagated

through the garrison was, that I had been surprised in making a new attempt.

I now saw my error, but, alas ! too late ; I assured my friend this step had been occasioned by my reliance on his promise. He lamented my mistake, but affirmed himself still the same. My courage strengthened, and I vowed vengeance against the mean conduct of the sub-governor.

My dungeon was completed in about a week. The town-major and major of the day, re-conducted me to it. My foot only was chained to the wall, but with links twice as strong as formerly ; the remainder of my irons were never after added.

Instead of flooring, the dungeon was paved with huge flat stones. The prison was made impenetrable. That part of my money only was saved which I had concealed in the pannels of the door, and the chimney of the stove ; some thirty louis-d'ors hidden about my clothes were taken from me.

While the smith was rivetting my chains, I addressed myself to the sub-governor.—“ Is this the consequence of the pledged honor of the prince ? Has the magnanimity of my conduct deserved such treatment ? But think not you deceive me ; I am acquainted with the false reports that have been spread ; the truth will soon come to light, and the unworthy be put to shame : nay, I now foretel you, Trenck shall not much longer be in your power ; for, were you to build your dungeon of steel, it would still be insufficient to contain me.”

They smiled at my threats. Reichmann, however, desired me to take courage, and said I might probably soon obtain my freedom, after a proper manner. My firm reliance on my friend, the lieutenant, gave me, instead of appearing sunk and despondent, a degree of confidence that amazed them all.

It is here necessary farther to explain this affair. When I had obtained my liberty, I visited prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. He informed me the majors had not made a true report, being afraid of reprimand for their own carelessness. Their story was, they had caught me at work, and had it not been for their extreme diligence, I should certainly have made my escape. Prince Ferdinand heard the truth some time

after, and informed the king, who from that time, only waited a favourable opportunity to restore me to liberty.

Once more was I immured, cursing in my heart the cruelties of kings and governors : this time however they were innocent, because deceived.

I waited in anxious hope for the day when my deliverer was to mount guard. What again was my despair, when instead of him, I saw another lieutenant ! I buoyed myself up with the expectation, that accident was the occasion of this, but I remained three weeks in the same suspense, and saw him no more. Ask I durst not, but heard at length he had left the corps of grenadiers, and therefore was no longer to mount guard at the Star Fort. Whether he was afraid, repented his engagement, or that the hundred ducats had procured him better prospects, I neither know, nor ever wish to know : but be it as it may, his absence cut off all hope.

I bitterly now repented my folly and untimely vanity : melancholy seized my mind ; I had brought my misfortunes on myself. When I had removed every impediment, the confidence I placed in the honor of man again plunged me near six months longer in affliction, doubled my despair. I had myself rendered my dungeon impenetrable.—Death would have followed, but for the dependence I placed in the court of Vienna.

The officers soon remarked the loss of my accustomed fortitude and gloomy thoughtfulness. I was less industrious on my cups ; the verses I wrote were desponding. The only comfort they could give, was, "Patience, dear Trenck ; your condition cannot be worse ; the king will not live for ever." Small consolation this. Were I sick, they told me I then might hope my sufferings would soon have an end. If I recovered, they pitied me, and lamented their continuance. What man of my rank and expectations ever endured what I have endured, ever was treated as I have been treated !

Peace had been concluded nine months. I was forgotten. At last, however, when I supposed all hope lost, the 24th of December, and the day of freedom came ! At the hour of parade, count Schlieffen, lieutenant of the guards, arrived and brought orders for my release !

The sub-governor supposed me weaker in intellects than I really was, and would not too suddenly tell me these happy tidings. He knew not the presence of mind, the fortitude, which the various dangers I had seen had made habitual.

My doors for the LAST TIME resounded!—Several people entered; their countenances were more than usually cheerful, and the sub-governor at their head, at length said, “This time, my dear Trenck, I am the joyful messenger of good news. Prince Ferdinand has prevailed on the king to let your irons be taken off. Accordingly, to work went the smith—“You shall also,” continued he, “have a better apartment.” “I am free then,” said I, “and you are afraid to tell me so too suddenly. Speak! fear not! I can moderate my transports.”

“Then you are free,” was the reply.

The sub-governor first embraced me, and afterward his attendants.

He asked me what clothes I would wish. I answered the uniform of my regiment. The taylor attended and took measure. Reichenmann told him it must be made by the morning. The man excused himself, because it was Christmas eve.—“So then, this gentleman must remain in his dungeon because it is holiday with you.” The taylor was answered, and promised to be ready.

The smith having ended his work, I was taken to the guard-room: congratulations were universal, and the town-major administered the oaths customary to all state prisoners.

1st. That I should avenge myself on no man.

2ndly. That I should neither enter the Prussian nor Saxon states.

3dly. That I should never relate by speech or in writing, what had happened to me.

4thly. That, so long as the king lived, I should neither serve in a civil nor military capacity.

Count Schlieben delivered me a letter from the Imperial minister, general Reidt, in Berlin, to the following purport: that he was heartily rejoiced at having found an opportunity of obtaining my liberty from the king; that I must cheerfully obey the requisitions of count Schlieben, whose orders were to accompany me to Prague,

"Yes, dear Trenck," said Schlieben, "I am to conduct you in a covered waggon through Dresden to Prague, with orders not to suffer you to speak to any one on the road. I have received three hundred ducats from general Reidt to defray the expense of travelling. A waggon must be purchased; but as all things cannot be prepared to-day, the sub-governor has determined we shall depart to-morrow night."

Once more at liberty, I walked about the fortifications, to accustom myself to light and air, and collected the money I had concealed in my dungeon, which amounted to about seventy ducats. To every man on guard I gave a ducat, to the sentinels then on duty over me each three, and ten ducats to be divided among the relief-guard. I sent the officer on guard a present from Prague, and the remainder of my money I bestowed on the widow of the kind, the honest, the worthy Gefhardt. He, poor fellow, was no more, and she had entrusted the secret of the thousand florins to a young soldier, who spending too freely, was suspected, betrayed her, and she passed two years in the house of correction. Gefhardt never received any punishment; he was killed in the field.—Had he left any children, I should in duty have provided for them. To the widow of the man who hanged himself before my prison door in the year 1756, I gave thirty ducats, lent me by Schlieben.

The night was riotous, the guard made merry, and I passed the most of it in their company. I was visited by all the generals of the garrison on Christmas morning, for I was not allowed to enter the town. Boots, uniform, all were made ready by noon. I was dressed, viewed myself in the glass, and found pleasure; but the tumult of my own passions, the congratulations I received, and the vivacity of every thing round me, prevented my remembering incidents minutely.

Evening came, and with it count Schlieben, a waggon and four post horses. After a very affecting farewell we departed. Who could have persuaded me I should have shed tears at leaving Magdeburg? Yet tears I actually did shed. It seems equally strange; that I lived there ten years, yet never saw the town.



The exact duration of my imprisonment at Magdeburg, was nine years five months and some days; add to these the seventeen months imprisonment at Glatz, and the amount is eleven years.

On the 2nd of January I arrived with count Schlieben safely at Prague, and the same day he delivered me to the then governor, the duke of Deuxponts. He received me with kindness and distinction; we dined with him two successive days, and all Prague was anxious to see a man who had surmounted ten years of suffering so unheard of as mine. Here I received three thousand florins, and paid general Reidt his three hundred ducats, which he had advanced count Schlieben, for the expenses of my journey, the repayment of which he demanded in his letter, although he had already received ten thousand florins. The expense of returning I also paid to Schlieben, made him a present, and provided myself with some necessaries.—After remaining a few days at Prague, a courier arrived from Vienna, to whom it is most worthy of remark, I was obliged to pay forty florins, with an order from government to bring me under a strong guard from Prague to Vienna. My sword was demanded; captain count Wela and two inferior officers entered the carriage, which I was obliged to purchase, in company with me, and brought me to Vienna. I took up a thousand florins more in Prague to defray these expenses, and was obliged in Vienna to pay the captain fifty ducats, for travelling charges back.

I entered Vienna like a criminal, was sent as a prisoner to the barracks, there kept in the chamber of lieutenant Blonket, with orders that I should be suffered to write to no one, speak to no one, without a ticket, from counsellors Kempf and Huttner.

So I remained six weeks; at length, the colonel of the regiment of Poniatowski, count Alton, spoke to me. I related what I supposed were the reasons of my being thus kept a prisoner in Vienna; and to the exertions of this worthy man am I indebted, that the abominable intentions of my enemies were frustrated, which were, to have me imprisoned during life as insane, in the fortress of Glatz. Had they once removed me from Vienna, all had been lost, and I should have pined

away the poor remainder of my life in a mad-house. Yet, when at liberty, could I never obtain justice against these men ! By their means was the empress persuaded, that my brain was effected, and that I continually uttered the most violent threats against the king of Prussia. The election of a king of the Romans was then in agitation, and the court was apprehensive, lest I, with a rash desire of vengeance, should act something that might offend the Prussian envoy. General Reidt had, moreover, been obliged to promise Frederic, that I should not be suffered to appear in Vienna, and that they should hold a most wary eye over me. The empress-queen felt compassion for my supposed disease, and asked if no assistance could be afforded me ; to which they answered, I had several times been let blood, but that I still remained a very dangerous man.

They added, that I squandered my money strangely having taken up and dispersed four thousand florins in six days, at Prague ; that it would therefore, be proper to appoint curators, or guardians, to impede such extravagancies.

Count Alton, however, spoke of me, and my hard destiny, to the countess Paar, mistress of the ceremonies to the empress-queen, a noble-minded lady. The late emperor entered the chamber while I was the subject of discourse, and asked whether I ever had any lucid intervals. " May it please your majesty," answered Alton, " he has now been seven weeks a custody at my barracks, and I never in my life met a more reasonable, or more agreeable man. There must be something mysterious in this affair, or he could not be treated as a madman, or so represented at court. That he is not so, in any wise, I pledge my honour."

The next day, the emperor sent count Thurn, guard-master of the arch-duke Leopole, to speak to me. In him I found a worthy man, an enlightened philosopher, and a lover of his country. To him I related how I had been twice betrayed, twice sold at Vienna, during my imprisonment ; demonstrated, that my administrators had only acted in this vile manner, that I might be imprisoned for life, and they remain undisturbed in possession of my effects. We conversed

together two hours : I gained his confidence and heart, and he continued my friend till death. He left me; promised protection, returned the following day, and procured me an audience of the emperor.

I spoke with freedom ; the audience lasted more than an hour. At length the emperor was so moved, that he rose from his seat, and retired into the next apartment : I saw the tears drop from his eyes. With sympathetic enthusiasm, I fell at his feet, and embraced his knees. Words I had none, but my looks, my tears, were indeed eloquent. The emperor tore himself from me, and I departed, with sensations, such as only those can know who, themselves being virtuous, have, unfortunately met with vile and wicked men.

I returned to my barracks in all the raptures of joy, and an order, the next day, came for my release. I went, with count Alton, to the countess Paar, who desired to see me, and, by her mediation, I obtained a private audience of the empress.

I cannot describe the kindness of the sovereigns, how much she pitied my sufferings, how much she admired my fortitude. I had not opportunity to speak a word ; her professions of pity preventing my stating the justness of my case. She told me she was informed of all the vile artifices practised against me in Vienna : required, however, I should mention no past grievances, should forgive all my enemies, avoid all retrospect, and pass all the accounts of my administrators. I would have spoken.—“ Do not complain of any thing,” said she, “ but act as I desire. I know all—you shall be recompensed by me ; you deserve reward and repose, and these you shall enjoy.” What could I do ! I must either sign whatever was given me to sign, or be sent to a mad-house. I received orders to accompany M. Pistrice to counsellor Zeigler : thither I went, and the next day was obliged to sign, in their presence, the following conditions :

First.—That I acknowledged the will of Trenck to be valid.

Secondly.—That I renounced all claim to the Slavonian estates, relying alone on her majesty's favour.

Thirdly.—That I solemnly acquitted my accountants and curators : and,

Lastly.—That I would not continue in Vienna.

Justly dissatisfied, I determined to avoid Austria eternally.

Before my intended departure to seek my fortune, I fell ill, and sickness almost brought me to the grave. The empress, hearing of my condition, in her great clemency, sent one of her own physicians, and a charitable friar, to my assistance ; both of whom I was at last obliged to pay. My own doctor would have restored me much cheaper.

At this time I received, unsolicited, a major's commission, for which I was obliged to pay the fees. Being excluded from actual service, the title to me was of little value ; my rank in the army had been at least equal ten years before in other service. The following words, inserted in my commission, are not unworthy remark : —“ Her majesty, in consequence of my fidelity and zeal for her service, so conspicuously demonstrated during a long imprisonment, my extraordinary endowments, and exemplary virtues, had been graciously pleased to grant me, in the Imperial service, the rank of major.” —The rank of major ! —From this preamble, who would not have expected either the rank of general, or the restoration of my great Slavonian estates ? I had been fifteen years a captain of cavalry, and now was I most graciously made an invalid major ! —I was made an invalid major three and twenty years ago, and an invalid major I still remain !

I sought an audience, but this was no more to be obtained. I attended the levee of prince Kaunitz. Not personally known to him, he, on his pinnacle of power, viewed in me a crawling insect among the swarm beneath. I thought somewhat more proudly, quitted the apartment, and, at the door, was congratulated on my good fortune, of having obtained an audience !

I applied to the field-marshal, from whom I received this remarkable answer : —“ If you cannot purchase, my dear Trenck ; it will be impossible to admit you into actual service ; besides, you are too old to learn.

our very difficult manœuvres ; I was then thirty-seven. I briefly replied, " Your excellency mistakes my character ; I did not come to Vienna to serve as an invalid major. I have no money ; but had I millions, I would never obtain rank in the army by that mode." I quitted the room with a shrug.—The next day I addressed a memorial to the empress : but obtained not so much as an answer to this, and a hundred other similar petitions.

I had bought a house in Vienna in the year 1735. The price was sixteen thousand florins.—After being released from my dungeon at Magdeburg, I enquired concerning my house, but no longer found it mine. My house was in other hands, and I was brought in debt or six thousand florins, for interest and costs of suit.

It has been asserted, the empress delivered me from imprisonment. But no, I positively declare the contrary. I remained nine months in my dungeon after the articles were signed, unthought of, and when mentioned by the Austrians, the king had twice rejected the proposal of my being set free. The affair actually happened as follows, according to the account I received from their royal highnesses, prince Henry, prince Ferdinand, and particularly from the minister count Hertzberg. General Reidt had received my ten thousand florins full six months, and seemed to remember me and my imprisonment no more. One gala day, however, on the 21st of December, the king happened to be in an extraordinary good humour, and her majesty the queen, the princess Amelia, and the present monarch, said to the Imperial minister, " This is a fit opportunity for you to speak in behalf of Trenck." He accordingly waited his time, did speak, and the king replied, " Yes."

The joy of the whole company appeared so great, that Frederic the Great was offended !

Other circumstances which contributed to promote this affair, the reader will easily collect from my history. That there were persons in Vienna who earnestly desired to detain me in prison, is indisputable ; from their proceedings after my return. My friends at Berlin, my own exertions, and my money, were my deliverers.

For some weeks after I first obtained my freedom, I was generally absent in mind, and deep in thought. This was a habit I acquired in prison, and the objects of sight appeared but as the visions of sleep. I often stopped in the streets, stared around me, doubted my own existence, and bit my finger, in order to convince myself I was really awake and alive.

Walking round the ramparts of Vienna, having recovered from my sickness, the vivifying spring, and the broad expanse of Heaven, inspired consciousness of present freedom, and of pleasure indescribable. I heard the morning song of the lark. My heart palpitated, my pulse quickened, the blood trickled through my veins with delight, for I felt I was a man, and recollected I was not in chains. Happen, said I, what may, I fear not futurity, so long as my feet, my will, and my heart are free, and like yonder lark, I can remove from land to land. My soul poured forth its thankfulness for this consciousness of freedom, and I determined to fly Vienna, and seek some corner of the world, where virtue has nothing to fear from the tongues of slanderers, the commands of courts, or the arbitrary will of monarchs.

An accident happened, which furthered my project. Marshal Laudohn was going to Aix-la-Chapelle, to take the waters. I had always personally honored and loved this general, when he was no more than a captain of pandours in my cousin's regiment. He went to take his leave of the countess Parr. I was present; the empress entered the chamber, and the conversation turning on Laudohn's journey, said to me, "The baths, also, are necessary to the re-establishment of your health, Trenck." I was ready, and followed him in two days to Aix-la-Chapelle, where we remained about three months.

Here we were stared at, as strange animals.—All the world wished to see him because of his fame in war, and me because of my sufferings. The society of this worthy general, poured balm into my wounded soul. He was as well acquainted with Vienna as myself: his fortitude and magnanimity had conquered his enemies. What he was, he had made himself.

The mode of life at Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa pleased me, where men of all nations meet, and where princes are obliged to mingle with people of all ranks, if they wish to seek conversation, and would not renounce society.

I scarcely had remained here a month, before my ever good friend the countess Parr, wrote to me, that the empress had provided for me, and would make my fortune, as soon as I should return to Vienna. I endeavoured to discover in what this good fortune consisted, but ineffectually. I hoped every thing from the empress, who well knew my hard destiny. The death of the emperor Francis at Inspruck, occasioned the return of general Laudohn, I and followed him on foot to Vienna.

By means of the countess Paar, I obtained an audience in a few days. The empress received me graciously, and said to me, "I will prove to you, Trenck, that I keep my word. I have insured your fortune; I will give you a rich and prudent wife." I replied, "Most gracious sovereign, I cannot determine to marry; and, if I could, my choice is already made at Aix-la-Chapelle."——

"How! are you married then?"——"Not yet, please your majesty."——"Are you promised?" "Yes;"——"Well, well, no matter for that, I will take care of that affair; I am determined on marrying you to the rich widow of M——, and she approves my choice. She is a very good kind of woman, and has fifty thousand florins a year. You are in want of such a wife."

I was thunder-struck. This lovely bride was an old canting hypocrite of sixty three, extremely covetous, and a termagant. I answered—"I must frankly speak truth to your majesty; I cannot consent, did she possess the treasures of the whole earth. I seek happiness and not misery—I have made my choice, and given my word of honor, which as an honest man I must not break." The angry empress regarded me with contempt, and said, "Your unhappiness is your own work. Act as you think proper; I have done." Here my audience ended, and thus dismissed, I bid an eternal adieu to any hope of reward from empresses and kings.

Had I been inclined to make my fortune by marrying an old woman, I might long before in 1750, have married one in Holland worth three millions. This proposal was to recompense me for the loss of my Sclavonian estates, and all my other innumerable afflictions. Compliance was moreover impossible; I was beloved in Aix-la-Chapelle, where mutual affection, reason, beauty, worth, and an exalted mind, all promised future happiness.

I was not actually affianced at this time to my present wife; but love determined me to return to improve an intimacy so far advanced.

Marshal Laudohn knew my mistress and promoted the match. He was acquainted with my heart, and the warmth of my passions, perceived I could not conquer the secret desire of vengeance on men, by whom I had been so cruelly, so wickedly treated. He and my friend, professor Gillert, whom I visited at Leipzig, both advised me to take this mode of calming my passions, that often inspired projects too vast, and that seeking tranquillity, I should fly the commerce of the great.

This friendly counsel was seconded by my own wishes. I returned to Aix-la-Chapelle in December 1765, and married the youngest daughter of the former burgomaster De Broe. He was dead; he had lived on his own estate at Brussels, where my wife was born and educated. He had been called to this honourable office by the unanimous voice of the citizens of Aix-la-Chapelle. He was the descendant of an ancient and noble family, in the province of Artois; and some of his predecessors, who possessed estates near Aix-la-Chapelle, had I know not for what reason, accepted the dignity of knights of the Roman empire.—My wife's mother was sister to the vice-chancellor of Dusseldorf, baron Roberte, lord of Roland.

It is not generally known, at Vienna, that one of the two burgomasters of Aix-la-Chapelle, must always be elected from a noble family, and the other from the citizens. My children, therefore, can prove their descent to be noble, both by the male and female line.

My wife has been with me in most parts of Europe, where she has always been esteemed as she deserves.—



She then was young, handsome, worthy, and virtuous, has borne me eleven children, all of whom she as nursed herself; eight of them are still living, and have been properly educated. God grant I may be enabled ever to provide for her as she deserves, and as is my duty. Two and twenty years has she borne a part in all my sufferings, and well deserves reward.

During my late short abode at Vienna, I made one effort more: I sought an audience from the present emperor Joseph, related all that had happened to me, and particularly remarked such defects as I had observed in the government and regulations of the country.

He gave me an attentive hearing, proved his desire to increase the happiness of his people, and commanded me to commit my thoughts to writing. This I accordingly performed, stating, with precision, and unreserve, the observations I had made on affairs, civil, military, and economical.

My memorial, though graciously received, produced no effect, and I hastened back to Aix-la-Chapelle.

For some years I lived here in peace; my house was the rendezvous of the first people who came to take the waters. I began to be more known, and every where procured myself friends among the very first and best of people.

I also visited professor Gillert, at Leipzig, showed him my manuscripts, and asked his advice concerning what branch of literature he thought I might best succeed in. He most approved my fables and tales, but blamed the excessive freedom with which I spoke in my political writing. I neglected his advice, and many ensuing calamities were the consequence.

My wife brought me a son in December, 1766.—and I took this opportunity of writing to the youthful monarch at Vienna, as follows;

“Your majesty is informed of my marriage.—My wife has borne me a son, whom I have christened Joseph. The Imperial chamberlain, colonel and baron Rippenda, stood sponsor, by proxy, for your majesty. This was done, without first obtaining your majesty's consent. I flattered myself your majesty would graciously be pleased, thus far, to honor me, knowing

my loyalty and my misfortunes. It is, indeed, my hope, that my conduct will procure from your majesty a more happy futurity. This son I shall educate in the same loyal principles, and, rather than depart from them, he shall imbibe poison from his mother's breast.

"Most gracious emperor, while I live, he will be provided for, but, at my death, then must he say to his sovereign, I am the son and rightful heir of both the Trencks, whose lands and possessions have been seized by strangers and aliens. I look upon you, gracious sovereign, as a protecting deity for my poor children. May your majesty participate my joy, and graciously welcome this new citizen of the world.— May it also please you to inform me, whether it be your gracious pleasure I should further present my thoughts in writing for your high inspection. My enemies at Vienna daily increase in strength; but on your sovereign protection I rely, and, whatever may be my fate, shall most faithfully and eternally remain the royal servant of my emperor and my country.

TRENCK."

I received the following answer, written by the emperor's own hand.

"*Dear major Trenck.*

"I am well pleased that you have christened your son Joseph, and have chosen colonel Rippenda as my proxy. As a proof of my good wishes towards you, I have, for manifest reasons, ordered that, henceforth, you shall receive your pay at Brussels, instead of Vienna. Continue to send me your writings; I am pleased to be informed of the truth; but they will give me more satisfaction, should you send them simple and undorned, than in their former satirical dress.

"I am yours,

"JOSEPH."

I soon after received orders to correspond with his majesty's private secretary Baron Rodar: what this correspondence was, must not here be told; suffice it

to say, my attempts to serve my country were frustrated ; I saw defects too clearly, spoke my thoughts too frankly, and wanted sufficient humility, ever to obtain favour.

In the year 1767, I wrote the Macedonian Hero, which became as famous throughout all Germany, as *Eulenspiegel*—(The Malicious Wag.) The poem did me honour, but entailed new persecutions ; yet, having wrote it, I never could repent : I have had the honour of presenting it to five reigning princes, by none of whom it has been burnt. The empress, alone, was highly enraged. I had spoken as Nathan did to David, and the Jesuits now openly became my enemies.

The following vile trick was played me in the year 1768. A friend in Bruffels was commissioned to receive my quarterly pay, from whom I learnt, an interdiction had been laid upon it by the court called Hofkriegsrath, at Vienna, in which I had been condemned to pay a note of seven hundred florins to one Buffy, with fourteen years interest.

Buffy was a known swindler. I was conscious no one on earth had any such claim ; I, therefore, journed, post-haste, to Vienna. No hearing, no satisfactory account was to be obtained. The answer was, “ Sentence is past, therefore all attempts are too late.

I applied to the emperor, Joseph, pledged my honour, and head, to prove the falsifications of this note and intreated a revision of the cause. My request was granted, and my attorney, Weyhranch, was an upright man. When he began to speak, and requested a day of revision to be appointed, he was threatened to be committed by the referendary, Zetto, should he undertake to interfere, and defend the affairs of Trenck. He answered firmly, “ His defence is my business in this place : I know my cause to be good.” Silence was imposed, and nothing further done.

Four months did I continue in Vienna before the day was appointed to revise this cause. It now appeared evidently there were erasures and holes thro’ the paper, in three places : all in court were convinced claim ought to be annulled, and the claimant punished. Zetto, notwithstanding, ordered the par-

ries to withdraw, and then so managed, that the judges resolved the case must be again laid before the court, with formal written proofs.

This gave time for new knavery. I was obliged to return to Aix-la-Chapelle, and four years elapsed, before this affair: clear as the meridian sun, was decided. The priests, in the interim, who were such as father confessors to convents usually are, took false oaths, that they had actually seen me receive the money. At length, however, I proved, that the note was dated a year after I had been imprisoned at Magdeburg : I, consequently, could not give any such in Vienna. Nay, farther, my attorney proved the very writs of the courts had, likewise, been falsified. Zetto, the referendary, and Bussy, were absolutely the forgers ; but I happened to be too active, and my attorney too honest, to lose this cause. I was obliged to make three very expensive journeys from Aix-la-Chapelle to Vienna, lest judgment should go by default. Sentence was at last necessarily pronounced : I gained my cause, and the note was declared a forgery ; but the costs, amounting to three thousand five hundred florins, I was obliged to pay, for Bussy could not nor was he corporally punished, though at last driven from Vienna for his villainous acts. Zetto, however, still continued referendary, still continued for eighteen years, my barbarous persecutor ; till not long since, he was deprived of his office, and condemned to the house of correction.

My knowledge of the world increased at Aix-la-Chapelle, where men of all nations and characters met, particularly English. In the morning, I might converse with a lord in opposition, in the afternoon, with an orator of the king's party, and, at night with an honest man of no party. In conversation like this, knowledge is acquired and imparted. I sent Hungarian wine into England, France, Holland, and the Empire : this occasioned me to undertake long journeys, and as my increase of acquaintance gave me opportunities of receiving many foreigners with politeness in my house, I was, myself, also, well received wherever I went.

The income I should have had from Vienna, was all ingulphed by law-suits, curators attornies, and the journies I was obliged to undertake ; having been thrice so cited to appear, in person, before the Hof-kriegsrath. To me nothing remained. I was described as a dangerous malecontent, who had deserted his native land, by which insinuations my enemies took care to profit. I, nevertheless, remained, in the country in which I lived what it would, an honest man, who would provide for his own necessities, without meanness, or the favour of courts ; one whose acquaintance was every where esteem. In Vienna alone, was I unfought, unemployed, and obscure.

My love of the chase, made me particularly acceptable to the English, who brought with them their own horses, dogs, to hunt the wolf and wild boar, animals not to be found in their own country. I, in return, passed whole summers at their country seats in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and thus obtained a thorough knowledge of the nation.

The elector Palatine had granted me a certain extent of country, in the territory of Juliers, where I might hunt ; and the count Palatine of the Rhine, gave me permission to hunt where I pleased. To defend this right hunting was now my duty, and occasioned various disputes ; these, however, were not often determined in courts of law, but, usually, every man asserted his claim with his sword.

One day an accident happened, on this occasion, which made me renowned over the country as a magician, as one whom lead could not penetrate, and who had power over the fogs and clouds.

I had a quarrel with the Palatine president, baron Blankart, concerning a hunting district. I, therefore, wrote to him, that, on a certain day, he should repair to the spot in dispute, whither I would also come, at ten in the morning, with sword and pistol, hoping he would there give me satisfaction for the affront I had received. Either I went, with two huntsmen, and two friends, but, instead of the baron, was astonished to find two hundred armed peasants assembled.

What was to be done ? I sent one of my huntsmen to the army of the enemy, informing them, that, did they not beat a retreat, I should fire. It was in the month of August, the day was clear and fine, and, suddenly, a thick and impenetrable fog arose. My huntsmen returned, with intelligence, that having delivered his message just as the fog came on, these valiant heroes had all run away in the greatest fright.

I advanced, found nobody, fired my piece as did my friends and followers, and marched to the mansion of my adversary, where my hunting horn was blown in triumph, in his court-yard. The runaway peasants fired at a distance, but the fog prevented their taking any aim.

Having taken this satisfaction, I returned home, where many false reports had preceded me. My wife expected I should be brought home dead, and that many others would be maimed ; however, not the least mischief had happened.

It soon was propagated through the country that I was a magician, had raised a fog to make myself invulnerable, and that the truth of this could be justified by two hundred eye witnesses. All the monks of Aix-la-Chapelle, Juliers, and Cologne, publicly preached concerning me, reviled me, and warned the people to beware of the arch-magician and Lutheran, Trenck.

On a future occasion, this belief I turned to matter of merriment. I went to hunt the wolf in the extensive forests of the country of Montjoye, and invited the peasants and townsmen to the chace. The first day we had but little sport ; towards evening I, and some forty of my followers, retired to rest in the neighbouring charcoal huts, well provided with wine and brandy. " My lads," said I, " it is now necessary you should all discharge your pieces, and load them anew, that to-morrow no wolf may escape, and that none of you may excuse yourselves on your pieces missing fire." The guns were accordingly reloaded, and placed in a separate chamber, after which they began to eat, drink, and dance. While they were merry-making, my huntsmen privately went into this chamber, drew the balls, and charged the pieces with powder, various of

which he loaded with double charges. Some of their notched balls, I put into my pocket.

In the morning, away went I, and my fellows to the chase. As we walked, their conversation turned on my necromancy, and the miraculous manner in which I could envelop myself in a cloud, or make myself bullet-proof.—“What is that you are talking about, my lads?” said I, “Some of these unbelieving good folks,” answered my huntsmen; “affirm your honour is unable to ward off balls.” “Well then,” said I, laughing, to one of them, “fire away, my good fellow, and try.” The man refused, and my huntsman took the piece out of his hand, and fired. I pretended to parry with my hand, and called, “Let any man, that is so inclined, fire, but one at a time.” Accordingly, they began, and, pretending to turn and twist about, I suffered them all to discharge their pieces. It must be remarked I was perfectly secure, as my man had carefully noticed that no man had re-loaded his gun. Some of them received such blows from the guns that were doubly charged that they fell down terrified in amazement, at the powers of magic. I advanced, holding in my hand some of the marked balls. “Let every one choose his own,” called I. All stood motionless, and many of them slunk home, with their guns on their shoulders; some few remained, and our sport was excellent.

On Sunday the monks of Aix-la-Chapelle again began to preach. My black art became the theme of the whole country, and at this day many of the people present will make oath, that they fired upon me, and that after catching them in my hand, I returned the balls.

Thus easy is it to gull this wise world. My high and invulnerable qualities were published through Juliers, Aix-la-Chapelle, Maestricht, and Cologne, and perhaps this belief has more than ten times saved my life; the priests having propagated it from their pulpits, in a country which so swarms with high-way robbers, that one hundred and sixty men have been broken alive on the wheel, quartered, and burnt within a year, and where for a single ducat any man may hire an assassin.

It is indeed no small matter of surprise, that I should for five years have preserved my life in a town where

there are twenty three monasteries and churches, and where the monks are all adored as so many deities. The catholic clergy had been sufficiently enraged against me, by my poem of "The Macedonian Hero:" and in 1752, I published a newspaper at Aix-la-Chapelle, and another periodical work, intitled, "The Friend of Men," in which I endeavoured to unmask hypocrisy. Indeed, for me an apostolic major of the apostolic Maria Teresa, to write thus in a town swarming with friars, and in a tone so undaunted, was unexampled.

Therefore did the arch priest, and nine of his coadjutors, declare every Sunday from the pulpit, publicly naming me, I was a free thinker, a wizard, one whom every man wishing well to God and the church, ought to assassinate. The Jesuit father Zunder, declared I was invulnerable, and a day was appointed on which my writings were to be burnt before my house, the house itself razed, and its inhabitants massacred. My wife received letters warning her to fly with her children for safety, which warning she in terror obeyed. I and two of my huntsmen remained, provided with eighty four loaded muskets. These I displayed in the gallery before the window, that all might be convinced I would make a desperate defence. I lived opposite the court-house. The appointed day came, and father Zunder, with my writings in his hand, attended by all the students in the town appeared ready for the attack; the other monks had incited the towns-people to a general storm; no man, however, had the heart to appear in the market place, while I stood in a gallery so well stored with fire-arms. Thus passed the day and night in suspense.

In the morning a fire broke out in the town.—I hastened fearless with my two huntsmen secretly well-armed, to give assistance: we dashed the water from our buckets, and all obeyed my directions. Father Zunder and his students were there likewise; I approached him by degrees, and struck his anointed ear with my leathern bucket as if by accident, which no man thought proper to notice. I passed undaunted through the crowd, the people all smiled, pulled off their hats to me, and wished me a good morning.—Such are the populace, when they perceive they are not feared.



The people of Aix-la-Chapelle were stupid bigots, but too cowardly to murder a man who was prepared for his own defence.

As I was riding to Maëstricht through a hollow way, a ball whistled by my ears, which no doubt was a messenger sent after me by these persecuting priests.

When hunting near the convent of Schwartzbruck, three Dominicans lay in ambush for me behind a hedge. One of their colleagues who often hunted with me, pointed out the place. I was on my guard with my double barrelled gun, drew near, but called with a voice of terror—"Shoot scoundrels! but do not kill me, for the devil stands ready for you at your elbow!" One fired, and they all ran. The ball hit my hat. I fired likewise, and wounded one desperately, whom the other two carried off: he recovered however, and afterward eloped with a cow-girl.

Their attempts at poisoning me were all unsuccessful, for I always ate at home. In the year 1744, journeying from Spa to Limbourg, I was attacked by eight banditti. The weather was rainy, and my musket was in its case; my sabre was entangled in the belt, so that, unable to draw it, I was obliged to defend myself as with a club. I sprang from the carriage, and with every effort of nature, fought in defence of my life, striking down all before me, while my faithful huntsman protected me behind. I dispersed my assailants, hastened to my carriage, and drove away. One of these fellows was soon after hanged and owned, before execution, that the confessor of these banditti had promised perpetual absolution, could they but dispatch me, but that no man could shoot me, because that Lucifer had rendered me invulnerable. Persuaded of the truth of this, fortunately for me they had only assaulted me with clubs. My strength and agility, fighting too for life, was superior to theirs, and they buried two of their gang, whom with my heavy sabre, I had killed. I escaped with a bruised arm and shoulder; my huntsman received a violent blow with a stone.

From my empress I had nothing further to hope. Her confessor had painted me with all the craft of a priest, as an arch heretic, and persecutor of the holy and blessed mother church. Nor was this all: opini-

ons were artfully propagated through Vienna, that I was a restless man, dangerous to the community. Such indeed is the universal supposition of all who have neither personally known me, nor read my writings.

Hence too was I always wronged in courts of judicature, where there are found wicked or bigoted men. The latter thought they were serving the cause of God by injuring me; and the former are ever the enemies of pure and simple truth, undauntedly displayed, it being their interest, that virtue and patriotism should fall the victims of falsehood. Yet were they unable to prevent my writings producing me much money, or being circulated through all Germany. The Aix-la-Chapelle Journal or Gazette became so famous in the first year, that in the second, I had four thousand subscribers, by each of whom I gained a ducat.

The post-masters, who gain considerably by circulating newspapers, were envious, because the Aix-la-Chapelle Gazette destroyed several of the others, and therefore formed a combination.

I will briefly notice what so much contributed to the sale of my newspaper. I was acquainted with most countries and courts, in which I had the best of correspondents: wherefore, instead of merely relating past events, I could foretell future. I was sometimes obliged to be ambiguous, yet my meaning was very capable of being understood.

Prince Charles of Sweden, eldest brother of the present king placed the greatest confidence in me during his residence at Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa, and I accompanied him into Holland. When I took my leave of him at Maestricht, while we were in the subterranean gallery of the fortifications, he said to me, "When my father dies, either my brother shall be king, or we will lose our heads\*." The king died, and prince Charles soon after said in a postscript of one of his letters, "What we spoke of at Maestricht will soon be fully accomplished, and you may then come to Stockholm."

\* The prince meant to say, the power of his father was so limited, that he was not a king. The present monarch has taken care to have no such complaint. T.

On this I inserted an article in my Gazette, declaring a revolution had taken place in Sweden, and that the king had made himself absolute.—The other papers thought proper to express their doubts, and I immediately offered to wager a thousand ducats on the truth of every article published in my Gazette under the title “Aix-la-Chapelle.” The news of the revolution in Sweden was instantaneously confirmed. This incident added greatly to the authenticity of my paper.

My Gazette foretold the Polish partition six weeks sooner than any other; but how I obtained this intelligence, must not here be mentioned.—I also was active, in the defence of queen Matilda of Denmark.

The French ministry were highly offended at the following pasquinade: “The three eagles have rent the Polish bear without losing a feather, with which any man in the cabinet of Versailles can write. Since the death of the Mazarin, they write there only with goose quills.”

By desire of the king of Poland, I wrote a narrative of the attempt made to assassinate him, and named the nuncio, who had given a general absolution to the conspirators in the chapel of the holy virgin.

The house was now in flames. Rome insisted I should recal my words. Her nuncio, at Cologne, vented poison, daggers, and excommunication: the empress-queen herself, thought proper to interfere. I obtained from Warsaw a copy of the examination of the conspirator for my justification. This I threatened to publish, and stood unmoved, in the defence of truth. I derived new honors, but new prosecutors, likewise; as for protectors, none: mine was the fate of all reformers, who must expect reward beyond the grave.

The empress wrote to the post-master-general of the empire commanding him to lay an interdict on the Aix-la-Chapelle Gazette. Informed of this, I ended its publication with the year, but wrote an essay on the partition of Poland; which also did but increase my enemies. The priests took care not to be idle at these moments.

The magistracy of Aix la Chapelle is elected from the lower ranks of the people, and the burghers’ court

consists of an ignorant rabble. I know no exceptions, but baron Lamberte and De White; and to heighten the ridicule, this people assume to themselves titles of dignity, for which they are amendable to the fiscal court at Vienna. Knowing I found little protection at Vienna, they imagined they might attack and drive me from their town. I was a spy on their evil deeds, of whom they would willingly have rid themselves. I likewise knew, that the two sheriffs, Klos and Furto, and the recorder, Geyer, had robbed the town chamber of forty thousand dollars, and divided the spoil. To these I was a dangerous man; for these reasons, they sought a quarrel with me, pretending I had committed a trespass by breaking down a hedge, and sent a sergeant, citing me to appear at their town-house.

It is a well known right of the empire, that no magistrate of these courts can enforce the personal appearance of a staff-officer. I was subject only to the court called Hofkriegsrath, at Vienna.—But by this court they soon understood I should not be protected. A most disagreeable litigation ensued. By accident, I obtained a letter from count Gravenitz, member of the Aulic council, to the post-master, Heinsberg, with whom I had also a suit pending, in which he said, that though justice was on my side, he would undertake to weary me by procrastination: he fulfilled his promise, and my wife was obliged to pay three hundred florins of gold, under pain of execution, while I was absent at Vienna, endeavouring to obtain right.

This was a trifle. The post-master, Heinsberg, of Aix-la-Chapelle, although he had two thousand three hundred rix dollars of mine in his possession, instituted false suits against me, on pretence of a note, which was nothing more than a receipt for a thousand dollars on account, obtained verdicts against me contrary to the most clear and evident justice, seized on a cargo of wine, worth three thousand eight hundred dollars, at Cologne, and I, on the whole incurred losses to the amount of eighteen thousand florins, exclusive of the interruption given to the trade I carried on in wine; which devoured the fortune of my wife, and by which she, with myself, and my children, were reduced to poverty.

From the year 1774, to 1777, I chiefly spent my time in journeying through England and France. I was intimately acquainted with Dr. Franklin, the American minister; also with the counts St. Germain, and Vergennes, who made me advantageous proposals to go to America; but I was prevented accepting them by my affection for my wife and children.

My kind friend, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who had been governor of Magdeburg during my imprisonment, offered me a commission in his service, among the troops going to America: but I answered, "Gracious prince, my heart beats in the cause of freedom only; I will never assist in enslaving men.— Were I at the head of your brave grenadiers, I should revolt to the Americans."

During the year 1775, I continued at Aix-la-Chapelle, my periodical essays, entitled, "The Friend of men." My writing had made some impression; the people began to read; the monks were ridiculed, and became more humble: my partizans increased, and their arch leader had the good fortune to get himself cudgelled.

They did not now mention my name publicly, but catechised their penitents at confession. During this year, various simple people came to me from Cologne, Bonn, and Dusseldorf, desiring to speak with me in private. When I enquired their business, they told me their clergy had informed them I was propagating a new religion, in which every man must sign himself over to the devil, who, then, would supply them with money. They were willing to become converts to my faith, would Beelzebub but give them money, and revenge them on their priests. My good friends," answered I, "your teachers have deceived you: I know of no devils but themselves. Were it, indeed, true that I was founding a new religion, the converts to which the devil would supply with money, your bishops, and priests would be the very first of my apostles, and the most catholic. I am an honest, moral man, my worthy friends, as a Christian ought to be. Go home, in God's name, and do your duty. Be honest and industrious, and you will not then want the devil to bring you money."

My wine trade was so successful, that I had correspondents and stores in London, Paris, Brussels, Hamburg, and the Hague, and had gained forty thousand florins, with the most flattering prospects from England. One unfortunate day destroyed all my successful hopes in this traffic.

Being in London I was defrauded of eighteen hundred guineas by swindlers. The relating of this story will do but little honour to the English nation. The fault was principally my brother-in-law's, a young man, who parted with the wine before he received the money. In England, there is no law against such deceivers. They bid you trust no-body, you will then not be wronged. And when I had been wronged, and asked my friends' assistance, I was only laughed at; as if they were happy that an Englishman had the wit to cheat a German.

Finding myself defrauded of my wine, I hastened to Sir John Fielding. He was acquainted with me, told me he knew I had been swindled, and that his friendship would make him active in my behalf; that he, also, knew the houses where my wine was deposited, and that a party of runners should go with me, sufficiently strong for its recovery. I was little aware that he had, at that time, two hundred bottles of my best to-kay in his cellar. His pretended kindness was a snare; he was in partnership with robbers: the stupid only he hanged, and preserved the most adroit for the promotion of trade.

He sent a constable and six of his runners with me, commanding them to act under my orders. By good fortune I had a violent head-ach, and could not attend them myself, but sent my brother-in-law, who spoke better English than I. Him, they brought to the house of a Jew, and told him, "Your wine, sir, is here concealed."—Though it was broad day, the door was locked, that he might be induced to act illegally. The constable desired him to break the door open, which he accordingly did: the Jews, in a pretended fright, came running, and asked—"What do you want, gentlemen?" "I want my wine," answered my brother.—"Take what is your own," replied a Jew, "but beware of touching my property. I have bought the wine."

My brother attended the constable and runners into a cellar, and there found a great part of my wine.—He wrote to sir John Fielding, that he had found the wine, and desired to know how he was to act. Fielding, by a verbal message, answered—"It must be taken by the owner." My brother, accordingly, got a cart, and sent me the wine.

My brother attended the constable and runners, in like manner, to the house of another Jew, where they proceeded as before, and he came back, quite rejoiced, at having recovered the wine.

Next day came a constable, with a warrant, saying "He wanted to speak with my brother and that it was to go to my friend, sir John Fielding." When he was in the street, he touched him with his staff, and told him—"Sir, you are my prisoner." Here it must be remarked, that no man can be arrested in his own house in London; but when he is in the street, and the constable has touched him with his staff, he is beyond delivery; and should he run, would be stopped by the people.

All this I was a spectator of through the window, unable to give any assistance. I went, however, to sir John Fielding, and asked what it all meant? This upright justice answered, in a magisterial tone—That my brother had been accused of felony. The Jews and swindlers had sworn the wine was a legal purchase. If I had not taken care to be paid, or was ignorant of the English laws, that was my fault. Six swindlers had sworn the wine was paid for; which circumstance he had not known, or he should not have granted me a warrant. My brother had, also, broken open doors, and forcibly taken away wine which was not his own. They had legally made oath of this, and he was charged with burglary and robbery.

He farther desired me immediately to give bail in a thousand guineas for my brother, for his appearance in the court of king's bench; otherwise his trial would immediately come on, and in a few days he would be hanged.

What was my rage at finding myself thus treated! and how willingly would I have plunged my sword in-

to the breast of a man so vile as the chief magistrate of London!

I hastened to a lawyer, who was my friend, who confirmed what had been told me, advised me immediately to give bail, and he would then defend my cause. I applied to lord Mansfield, and received the same answer. I told my story to all my great friends, who were chiefly members of parliament, and they laughed at me, that I should trade in London without better understanding the laws. My intimate friend, lord Grosvenor, said, "Send more wine to London, and we will pay you so well, that you will soon recover your loss." This is the character of the nation. I am certain he would have kept his word, but I wanted the necessary capital.

I went to my wine merchants, who had stock in hand of mine, worth upwards of a thousand guineas. They gave bail for my brother, and in four days he was released.

Fielding in the interim, sent his runners to my house, took back the wine, and restored it to the Jews, as property of which they had been robbed. They threatened farther to prosecute me as a receiver of stolen goods. I fled, in all haste, from London, through Dover to Paris, where I immediately sold off my remaining stock at half price, honored my bills, and so ended my merchandise.

My brother returned to London in November to defend his cause in the court of king's bench; but the swindlers had disappeared, and the lawyer required a hundred pounds to proceed. The conclusion of all this was, my brother returned with seventy pounds less in his pocket, spent as travelling expenses; and the stock, in the hands of my wine merchants, was detained on pretence of paying the bail. They brought me in an apothecary's bill, and all was lost. Thus do the English treat the Germans, notwithstanding I had so many friends in London.

I might fill a volume with similar instances. I shall only relate one short story.—A German violin maker, in London, intending to return home, had bought a silver coffee-pot, which was left standing on the table in his chamber. Some one knocked at the door, and



two Jews entered. One bespoke a violin, the other, while he was conversing, snatched up the coffee pot, and ran. The German looked round, and missed the coffee pot, but the other Jew told him—"Do not be uneasy, my friend; go with me, and I will make my comrade give you back your coffee pot. It is only some trick: he is a mad headed fellow."

The poor German went with the Jew, who brought him into a chamber, where were four other Jews, and his coffee pot on the table. He took it, and said, "God be pleased, I have found it once more." The Jew answered not a word; and the German returned home with his coffee pot. Forthwith went five Israelites to the justice, and swore, that the German had entered their chamber, and stolen thereout a silver coffee pot. A constable attended them to the German's house. The Jew said, "That is my coffee pot:" and the other swearers answered, "Yes, that is yours." The German was taken, into custody, and, being destitute of witnesses, was hanged upon the evidence of five Jews.

I spoke with this poor fellow in prison, who told me the story himself; and actually saw this honest man hanged by the pitiless English. What will my readers now say of this high esteemed nation, which, in reality, for a thousand reasons, merits our contempt?

Enough of the proud and selfish Britons, who would treat us, and all other nations, as they do their negroes, were we to fall under their dominion.

At Aix-la-Chapelle, I attacked those sharpers, in my weekly writings, who attend there, and at Spa, to plunder both inhabitants and visitants, under the connivance of the magistracy: nor are there wanting foreign noblemen, who become the associates of these pests of society. The publication of such truths endangered my life from some of these desperadoes, who, when detected, had nothing more to lose.

Though my life was much disturbed, yet do I not repent of my manner of acting; many a youth, many a brave and worthy man, have I preserved from destruction, detained from the gaming table, and personally pointed out to them the most notorious sharpers.

This was so injurious to Spa, that the bishop of Liege, himself, who enjoys the tax of forty per cent, on all their winnings, and, therefore, protects such villains, offered me an annual pension of five hundred guineas, if I would not come to Spa ; or three per cent, on the winnings, would I but associate myself with colonel M——t, and raise recruits for the gaming table. My answer may easily be imagined ; yet, for this, was I threatened to be excommunicated by the holy catholic church.

The Bavarian contest was at this time in agitation. My own affairs brought me to Paris, and here I learned particular intelligence of great consequence. This I communicated to the grand duke of Florence, on my return to Vienna. The duke departed to join the army in Bohemia, and I had occasion again to write to him, and, from the importance of the subject, thought it my duty to send a courier, at my own expense.—The duke showed my letter, to the emperor ; my intelligence was received, but I myself remained unnoticed.

I did not think myself very safe in foreign countries, during the time of war, and, therefore, purchased the lordship of Zwerbach, with appurtenances, which, with the concomitant expenses, cost me sixty thousand florins. This lordship was in a ruinous condition, and was to be restored by my money and industry.

In may, 1780, I went to Aix-la-Chapelle, where my wife's mother died in July, and, in September, my wife, myself, and family, all came to Vienna.

my wife solicited the mistress of the ceremonies to obtain an audience. Her request was granted ; and she had the good fortune to gain the entire approbation of the empress. Her kindness was beyond expression : she, herself, introduced my wife to the arch-dutcheß, as an example for women, and commanded her grand mistress of the ceremonies to present her every where. “ You were unwilling,” said she, “ to accompany your husband into my country, but I hope to convince you, that you may live happier in Austria, than at Aix-la-Chapelle.” She said many other things equally kind.

She next day sent me her decree, assuring me of a pension of four hundred florins, adding, this should not be all she would do for me.

My wife petitioned the empress to grant me an audience. Her request was complied with, and the empress said to me, "This is the third time in which I would have made your fortune, had you been so disposed." The audience lasted long; her discourse was that of a matron. She desired to see my children, adding, "So excellent a mother must have brought you charming children." She then spoke of my writings.—"How much good might you do," said she, "would you but write in the cause of religion!"

The prospect now seemed to brighten, and a happy futurity to approach. My wife received more honor and attention, while she remained at Vienna, than many of the first ladies of the city.

We departed for Zwerbach, where we lived contentedly; but, when about to return to Vienna, and solicit the restitution of a part of my lost fortune, during this momentary sunshine of the court, the great Teresa died, and all my hopes were overcast.

I forgot to relate, that, after my favorable audience, the arch dutchess, Maria Anna, spoke to me in the name of the empress, and desired me to translate a religious work, written in French, by the abbe Baudrand into German. I replied, I should have little success in translation, but that I would obey her majesty's commands. I began my work, took passages from Baudrand, but inserted more of my own, though the censor was less fastidious in the examination of what was entitled a translation. The first volume was finished in six weeks; the empress thought it admirable. The second soon followed, and I presented this myself. She asked me if it equalled the first! I answered, I hoped it would be found more excellent. "No," said she, "I never in my life read a better book;" and added, she much wondered how I could write so well and so quick. I promised another volume within a month.

Before the third was ready, Teresa died, and my expectations descended with her to the grave. She continually gave orders, on her death bed, to have

the writings of baron Trenck read to her ; and though her confessor well knew the injustice that had been done me, and all I had lost, yet, in these last moments when he had the most favorable of all opportunities, he kept a dastardly silence, though he had given me his sacred promise to speak in my behalf.

The pension granted my wife by the empress, in consequence of my misfortunes, and our numerous family, we only enjoyed nine months. This she was deprived of by the new monarch, who suppressed that and various other pensions, as burthensome to the state.

After the death of the empress, I wrote to the emperor as follows :—

*“ Most Gracious Emperor,*

*“ In a work printed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1772, the most essential parts of which I had the honour to present to you in 1765 in manuscript, is the following passage :*

*“ All oppressed subjects ought at stated hours to have access to the throne ; those who should prefer false complaints, seek to deceive or obtain favours unmerited, ought to be made public examples, and stand mutilated in the pillory.”*

*“ I, most gracious sovereign, am the first who will pronounce judgment on myself, if I am not able to prove I have been most unjustly oppressed under the reign of the great Maria Theresa, and deprived of an immense property by unjust judges, and men in power ; I therefore humbly pray a judge may be appointed, before whom I may be permitted to produce my proofs.*

*“ I am, gracious monarch,  
“ Your ever faithful subject,  
“ TRENCK.”*

In vain did I hope an answer : my petition remained unnoticed, unregarded.

The emperor thought proper to collect the legacies and monies bestowed on hospitals into one fund. The system was wise and good. My cousin Trenck had bequeathed thirty six thousand florins to an hospital for the poor of Bavaria, who had been ruined by him and

his pandours. This I showed he had no right to do, having deducted the sum from the family estates; I therefore petitioned the emperor, that these thirty six thousand florins might be restored, as by right they ought, to me and my children, who were the people whom Trenck had made poor indeed; nothing of the property of his acquiring having been left to pay this legacy, but on the contrary, the money having been violently exacted from mine.

Alas! the memorial came before those who were ill-informed of the truth, or deemed the inquiry too laborious. In a few days it was determined I should be answered in the same tone, in which, for six and thirty years past, all my petitions and remonstrances had been answered: "the request of the petitioner cannot be granted."

Fortune, my irreconcilable enemy, persecuted me even in my retreat. Within six years, two destructive hail-storms swept away my crops; one year was a misgrowth; there were seven floods; a rot among my sheep; all possible calamities beset me and my manor.

The unfortunate, miserable peasants, had nothing; therefore, could pay nothing: I, on the contrary, was obliged to advance them money—My sons, assisted me, and we laboured with our own hands. My wife, accustomed to the affluence of the great world, anxious to fulfil the duties of a mother, and an excellent woman, took care of eight children, without so much as the help of a maid. We lived in poverty and wretchedness, obliged to earn our daily bread by the sweat of the brow; and, had the emperor, by chance amidst his peregrinations, visited, Zwerbach, he would have beheld the abode of industry, and virtue, exerting, themselves to fulfil all the duties of man, and our sufferings had no doubt been less severe.

The greatest of all my misfortunes was my treatment in the military court, where Zetto and Krugel were my referendaries. Zetto had clogged me with a curator, and, when the cow had no more milk to give, he began to torture me with deputations, sequestrations, administrations, and executions. Nineteen times was I obliged, personally to attend in Vi-

enna within two years, and to travel fourteen posts each time, at my own expense. This alone ate up my income. Every six years must I pay an attorney to dispute, wrangle, and quarrel in my behalf with the curator. Their mutual squabbles filled huge rolls of writing, for all of which I, in the conclusion, was obliged to pay. If an affair was to be expedited, I, by a third hand, was obliged to send the referendary some excellent ducats. Did he give judgment—still that judgment lay fourteen months inefficient, and, when it then appeared, the copy was false, and so was sent to the upper courts, the high referendary of which said, “I must be disloged from Zwerbach.”

They obliged me at last to purchase my naturalization. I sent to Prussia for my pedigree, where the family had been known four hundred years; the attestation of this was sent me by count Hertzberg. Although the family of Trenck had been known four hundred years as landholders in Hungary, yet was my attorney, by order of the court, obliged to solicit the instrument called ritter-diploma, for which under pain of execution, I must pay two thousand florins. Thus are men treated at Vienna; and this treatment I, certainly shall not soon forget.

By degree, a Prussian nobleman is not noble in Austria! In Austria! where every lackey, every worthless fellow, can purchase a diploma, making him a knight of the empire, for twelve hundred wretched florins! where money is the only merit necessary for acquiring the title of count! where such men as P— and Grassalkowitz have purchased the dignity of *Prince*.

Tortured by courts, terrified by hail-storms, I determined to depend on the productions of my pen, and to publish a collection of my works in eight volumes, and this history of my life.

Fourteen months accomplished this purpose——My labours found a favourable reception through all Germany, procured me money, esteem and honor; and I will now no more struggle through my few remaining years under the burthen of law-suits, curators, referendaries, attorney, courts of justice, and the unworthy in authority.

On the 22d of August, 1736, the news arrived, that Frederic the great had left this world!

The present reigning monarch, the best among the friends of men, the witness of my sufferings in my native country immediately sent me a royal passport for Berlin. The confiscation of my estates was annulled, and my deceased brother, in Prussia, had left my children his heirs !

I journey, with the imperial permission, back to my country, which I have been two and forty years expelled ! I journey, not as a pardoned malefactor, but as a man whose innocence has been established by the whole tenor of his actions, has been proved in his writings, and who is journeying to receive his reward !

Safe am I arrived in haven, a weather beaten, but experienced, shipman, enabled to indicate the hidden rocks and quicksands of life's perturbed shores ; often have I struck, often been wrecked but never foundered.

Let the wise and benevolent reader grant me compassion, and, by my example, avoid much of that misery in which too much rashness, or too little caution, has involved me.

He, whose untimely ambition impels him to undertakings beyond his strength ; he, who concerns himself with affairs not properly his own ; he who erects himself into a reformer of this world's abuses, will be the martyr of virtue, or perhaps, the dupe of folly, and after having lived persecuted, may even have the fortune to die despised.

I conclude this part of my history on the evening preceding my journey to Berlin.

\* \* \* \* \*

This journey I cheerfully prepared to undertake ; but my ever envious fate threw me on the bed of sickness, inasmuch, that small hope remained I ever should again behold the country of my forefathers, or outlive the moment which I had been twenty years in anxious expectation of beholding.

A variety of obstacles overcome, I found it necessary first to take a journey into Hungary, which was one of the most vivifying and pleasant of my whole life.

I left Vienna on the 5th of January, and came to Prague. Here I found nearly the same reception as in Hungary: my writings had been universally read. Citizens, noblemen, and noble ladies, treated me with like favour, like friendship.

I reluctantly bade adieu to Prague, and continued my journey to Berlin. Here in Bohemia I took leave of my son, a lieutenant in the second regiment of carabiniers; who saw his grey-headed father and two brothers, destined for the Prussian service, depart. He felt the full weight of this separation. I reminded him of his duty to the state he served; also of the fearful fate of his uncle and father in Austria, and of the possessors of our vast estates in Hungary.—He shrunk back; a look from his father pierced him to the soul—tears stood in his eyes—his youthful blood flowed quick—and the following expressions burst suddenly from his lips:—"I call God to witness, I will prove myself worthy of my father's name, and that while I live his enemies shall be mine."

What are the feelings of a father, who in his son embraces his friend? His brothers wept, nor could I retain my tears!

At Peterswalde on the road to Dresden, my carriage broke down: my life was endangered, and my son received a contusion in his arm. The erysipelas broke out on him at Berlin, and I could not present him to the king during a month after my arrival.

Not many days passed before I was presented at court by the Prussian chamberlain, prince Sacken; as it is not customary at Berlin for a foreign subject to be presented by the minister of his own court. Though a Prussian subject, I wore the Imperial uniform.

The king received me with remarkable condescension: all eyes were directed towards me, each person took me by the hand, and each welcomed me to my country. This moved me the more by being remarked by the foreign ministers, who asked with surprise who that Austrian officer could be, who was received with so much affection, and such evident joy in Berlin. The gracious monarch himself gave tokens of a nobler pleasure at beholding me thus surrounded.



Having been introduced at court, I thought it necessary to observe customary ceremonies, and was presented by the Imperial ambassador, prince Reuss, to all foreign ministers and such families as are in the routine of admitting like visits. I was received by the prince royal the reigning queen, the queen dowager, and the whole royal family, in their various palaces, with esteem and favour never to be forgotten. His royal highness prince Henry, the well known partaker of his brother's glory, invited me to a private audience, continued long in conversation with me, testified the utmost compassion at what I had undergone, promised me his future protection, admitted me to his private concerts, and made me stay and sup at court.

A like reception I met in the palace of prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, where I frequently dined and supped. His princess took delight in hearing my narratives, and in my knowledge of men and manners, and loaded me with favours.

The pleasure I received at Berlin was great indeed. When I went to court the honest citizens crowded to see me; and when any one among them said, "That is Trenck," the rest would cry—"Welcome once more to your country,"—while many would reach me their hands with the tears standing in their eyes. Frequent were the scenes I experienced of this kind. No pardoned malefactors would have been so received—O, no!—It was the sweet reward of innocence: this reward was fully bestowed throughout the Prussian territories.

Some days after I had been presented to the king, and supped with the queen, I entreated a private audience, and on the 12th of February received the following letter:

"In answer to your letter on the 9th of this month, which has been given me, I *gladly* inform you, that if you will come to me after dinner to-morrow at five o'clock, I shall have *the pleasure* to see and speak with you; mean time I pray God to take you into his holy keeping.

"FREDERIC WILLIAM."

"Berlin Feb. 12th, 1787.

R

P. S. After signing the above, I find it more convenient to appoint to-morrow at nine in the morning, about which time you will come into the apartment named *mariner kammer* (marble chamber.)”

The anxiety with which I expected this wished-for interview may well be conceived. I found the Prussian King alone, and he continued in conversation with me more than an hour.

How condescending, how kind was the monarch! How great! how nobly did he console me for the past! How entirely did his assurance of favour overpower my whole soul! He had read the history of my life. When prince of Prussia, he had been an eye-witness, in Magdeburg of my martyrdom, and my attempts to escape. Many circumstances he recollected himself, and he inquired of those who had been present, and who confirmed the truth of my narrative and the severity of my calamities. I long shall I remember these fortunate moments: yet these are fled—His majesty parted from me with tokens of confirmed esteem and condescension. My eyes bade adieu, but my heart remained in the marble chamber, in company with a prince capable of sensations so dignified; and my wishes for his welfare are eternal.

He sent for me a second time, conversed much with me, and confirmed those ideas which my first interview had inspired, and I am fully convinced I have not mistaken his character.

On the 11th of March at another private audience, I presented my son, whom I intended for the Prussian service. The king immediately bestowed on him a commission in the *Pofadowsky* dragoons, at my special request. The difficulty of obtaining such a commission without having first served as an ensign is well known; this was therefore a particular favour and honour, and my son has the more to expect, since his majesty himself has promised his promotion.

I saw him at the review at Velau, and his superior officers formed great expectations from his zeal. Thus I have done the duty of a father by my sons: there will differ or whether he is in the Austrian, or this in the Prussian service, will not obtain rewards due to their father; and to this state will I bequeath my third son.

Should they both remain unnoticed, I will bestow him on the Grand Turk, rather than on European courts, whence justice to me and mine is banished.

Since I have been at Berlin, and received there with so many testimonies of friendship and favour, the newspapers of Germany have published various articles concerning me, perhaps with the best of wishes, intending to contribute to my honor or ease. They have however been sometimes misinformed. They have asserted a great pension has been settled on me at Berlin; but on my honour, I affirm I never asked a pension. They have said my eldest daughter is appointed governess of the young princefs. This perhaps has been the joke of some witty correspondent; for my eldest daughter is but fifteen, and stands in need of a governess herself. Perhaps they may suppose me mean enough from ostentation, to circulate falsehood: perhaps they suppose they do me service or give me pleasure, by publishing as facts honours or rewards for which I hope. It may be malice, and a desire to injure me; it may be the very reverse: in either case it is no pleasure to me, and may have ill effects. An honest man is never without his enemies, who will labour to prevent any good that might happen to him, and who are terrified if they imagine he might become the favourite of a king.

I almost daily receive letters from all parts of Germany, from persons unknown to me, wherein the sensations of the feeling heart are evident.—The history of my life has excited a general attention. Those reviewers who have been impartial, have my thanks: those who suspect my veracity, or endeavour to decry my work, must be answered by an appeal to facts. That my history relates many improbable events, and rather resembles a romance, than a work of biography, is not my fault: extraordinary accidents I have encountered, and extraordinary accidents I must relate.

I met at Berlin many old friends of both sexes: among others an aged invalid came to see me, who was at Glatz in 1746, when I cut my way through the guard. He was one of the sentinels before my door, and whom I had thrown down the stairs.

Another invalid who had assailed me when imprisoned at Magdeburg, in ridding myself of my bags of sin, came also to visit me.

The hour of quitting Berlin, and continuing my journey into Prussia towards Konigsberg, my native country approached. On the eve of my departure, I had once again the happiness of conversing more than two hours with her royal highness the princess Amelia, sister of Frederic the Great. Possessed of native goodness of mind and deep penetration, she solely had the honor of gaining the entire confidence and friendship of Frederic. She, as far as she was able, protected me in my hour of extreme adversity; heaped benefits upon me, and more than any other person in the world, contributed to gain my deliverance. Not as a foreign officer did she receive me during my stay in Berlin, but as a friend, as an aged patriot; laid her commands upon me to write immediately to my wife, and request she would come to Berlin in the month of June with her two eldest daughters. Her promise I received, that the happiness of the latter should be her care; nay that she would certainly remember my wife in her will.

At this moment when about to depart, she affectionately asked me if I had money sufficient for the expenses of my journey? "Yes, madam," was my reply; "for myself I want nothing, nothing ask; but may you remember my children!"

The sensibility, the deep feeling with which I pronounced these words moved the princess; she shewed me how perfectly she comprehended my meaning, took me by the hand, and said, "Return, my friend, quickly; I shall be most happy to see you."

I hastily left the room; a kind of indecision came over me. I was inclined to remain some days longer at Berlin. Had I done so, my presence would most indubitably have been of great advantage to my children. Aals! ever under the guidance of my evil genius, I began my journey. The clear prospect of futurity was instantly overclouded; the principal purpose for which I came to Berlin frustrated; for, five days after my departure, the princess Amelia died!

On the 22d of March I departed from Berlin, and pursued my journey to Konigsberg, but remained two days at the court of the margrave of Brandenburg Schwedt, where I was received with kindness and esteem. The margrave had bestowed favours on me during my imprisonment at Magdeburg.

I departed thence through Soldin to Schildberg, there to visit my relation Sidan, who had married the daughter of my sister, which daughter my sister had by her first husband. I found my kinsman a worthy and honorable man, and one who made the daughter of an unfortunate sister happy. I was received at his house with open arms; and for the first time during an interval of two and forty years, beheld one of my own relations.

On my journey thither I had the unexpected pleasure to meet with lieutenant general Kowalsky. This good gentleman was a lieutenant in the garrison of Glatz in the year 1745, and was an ocular witness when I leaped from the wall of the rampart. He had read my history, with some of the principal facts of which he was previously acquainted. Should any one therefore doubt concerning those incidents which I have related, of my escape from Glatz, and which, because of the difficulties attending their execution, have been by some incapable themselves of a like enterprise, supposed incredible. I may refer them to him, whose testimony cannot be suspected.

From Schildberg I proceeded to Landsberg, on the Warta. Here I found my brother-in-law, colonel Pape, commander of the Gotz dragoons, and the second husband of my deceased sister; and here passed a joyous day. Every body congratulated me on my glorious return into my country, and offered up their ardent prayers for my future felicity.

I found relations in almost every garrison, and was almost every where detained. Never did man receive more honorable marks of esteem throughout a kingdom. The general knowledge of my unmerited calamities procured me this sweet consolation; and I were insensible indeed, and ungrateful did my heart remain unmoved on occasions like these.

I shall here insert an incident which I omitted in its proper place, lest I should have fatigued my readers by a too circumstantial recital of my various attempts to escape from prison at Magdeburg. It was my last attempt but one at flight. The circumstances were these:

As I found myself unable to get rid of more sand, after having once again cut through the planking, and mined the foundation, I made a hole towards the fosse or ditch, in which three sentinels were stationed. This I executed one stormy night, it being easy from the lightness of the sand, to perform the work in two hours.

No sooner had I broken through, than I silently drew back the sand within the hole, and threw one of my slippers beside the palisadoes, that it might be supposed I had lost it when climbing over them. These palisadoes, twelve feet in height, were situated in the front of the principal fosse, and my sentinels stood within. There was no sentry-box at the place where I had broken through.

This done I returned into my prison, made another hole under the planking where I could hide myself, and stopped up the passage behind me, so that it was not probable I could be seen or found. When daylight came, the sentinel saw the hole, gave the alarm—the officer ran terrified; the slipper was found, and it was concluded that Trenck had fortunately escaped over the palisadoes, and was no longer in prison.

Immediately the sub-governor came from Magdeburg, the alarm guns were fired, the horse scoured the country, and the fortification and subterranean passages were all visited; no tidings came; no discovery was made; and the conclusion was, I had certainly escaped. That I should fly without the knowledge of the sentinels was deemed impossible; the officer and all the guard were put under arrest, and every body was struck dumb with surprise.

I in the mean time sat quiet in my hole, where I heard their searches and suppositions that I certainly was gone. My heart bounded with joy, and I held escape to be indubitable. They most undoubtedly would not have placed sentinels over the prison the following night, and I then really should have left my place of concealment, and most probably have safely arrived in Saxony. My cruel destiny however robbed me of all hope, at the very moment when I supposed the greatest of my difficulties conquered.

Every thing seemed to happen as I could wish. The whole garrison came and visited the casemates, and all

flood astonished at the miracle they beheld. In this state things remained till four o'clock in the afternoon. At length an ensign of the militia came, a boy of about fifteen or sixteen years of age, a very chicken in appearance, but who had more wit than any or all of them. He approached the hole, examined the aperture next the fosse, thought it appeared very small, endeavoured to enter it himself found he could not, therefore concluded it was impossible a man of my size could have passed through, and accordingly called for a light.

This was an incident I had not foreseen. Half stifled in my hole, I had opened the canal under the planking. No sooner had the youth procured the light, than he perceived my white shirt, examined nearer, felt about, and laid hold on me by the arm.

The fox was caught, and the laugh was universal. My chagrin and confusion may easily be imagined. They all came round me, paid me their compliments, and finding nothing better was to be done, I laughed in company with them, and thus laughing, was led back with an aching, a distracted heart, to be sorrowfully enchained in my dungeon.

The contrivance was highly applauded by all those who wished I might effect my escape, among whom was the honorable person who desired I would here insert this anecdote.



I continued my journey, and arrived, on the fourth of April, at Königsberg, where my brother impatiently expected my arrival. We embraced as brothers must after an absence of two and forty years. Of all my brothers and sisters I had left in this city, he only remained. He lived a retired and peaceable life on his own estates, fulfilling all the duties of a man. He had no children living. I continued a fortnight in company with him, and his worthy wife, at Königsberg, with infinite satisfaction of heart, and afterwards went with him to his country seat, where I staid six weeks.

Here I, for the first time, learnt what had happened to my relations during my absence. The wrath of

the great Frederic extended itself to all my family. My second brother was an ensign in the regiment of cuirassiers at Kiow, in the year 1746, when I first incurred disgrace from the king. Six years he served, fought at three battles, but, because his name was Trenck, never was promoted. Weary of expectations, he at length quitted the army, married, and lived on his estate at Meicken, where he died, about three years ago, and left two sons, who are an honour to the family of the Trencks.

Common fame spoke him a person capable of rendering the state essential service, as a military man, in the profession he had chosen; but he was my brother, and the king would never suffer his name to be mentioned.

My youngest brother applied himself to the sciences. It was proposed that he should receive some civil employment, as an intelligent, well-meaning man: but the king answered in the margin of the petition,

“No Trenck is good for any thing.”

Thus has all my family suffered, because of my unjust condemnation. My last mentioned brother chose the life of a private man, and lived at his ease, in estimation and independence, among the first people of the kingdom.

The hatred of the monarch extended itself to my sister, who had married the son of general Waldow, and lived in widowhood from the year 1749, to her second marriage. The misfortunes of this excellent woman, in consequence of the treachery of Weingarten, and the aid she sent to me in my prison at Magdeburg, I have before related. She was possessed of the fine estate of Hammer, near Landsberg, on the Warta. The Russian army changed the whole face of the country, and laid it desert: She fled, with what effects she could, to Custrin, where every thing, likewise, was burnt and destroyed during the siege. The prussian army demolished the fine forests.

After the war, the king assisted all the ruined families of Brandenburg; she alone obtained nothing, because she was my sister. She petitioned the king, who replied, she must seek for redress from her dear brother.

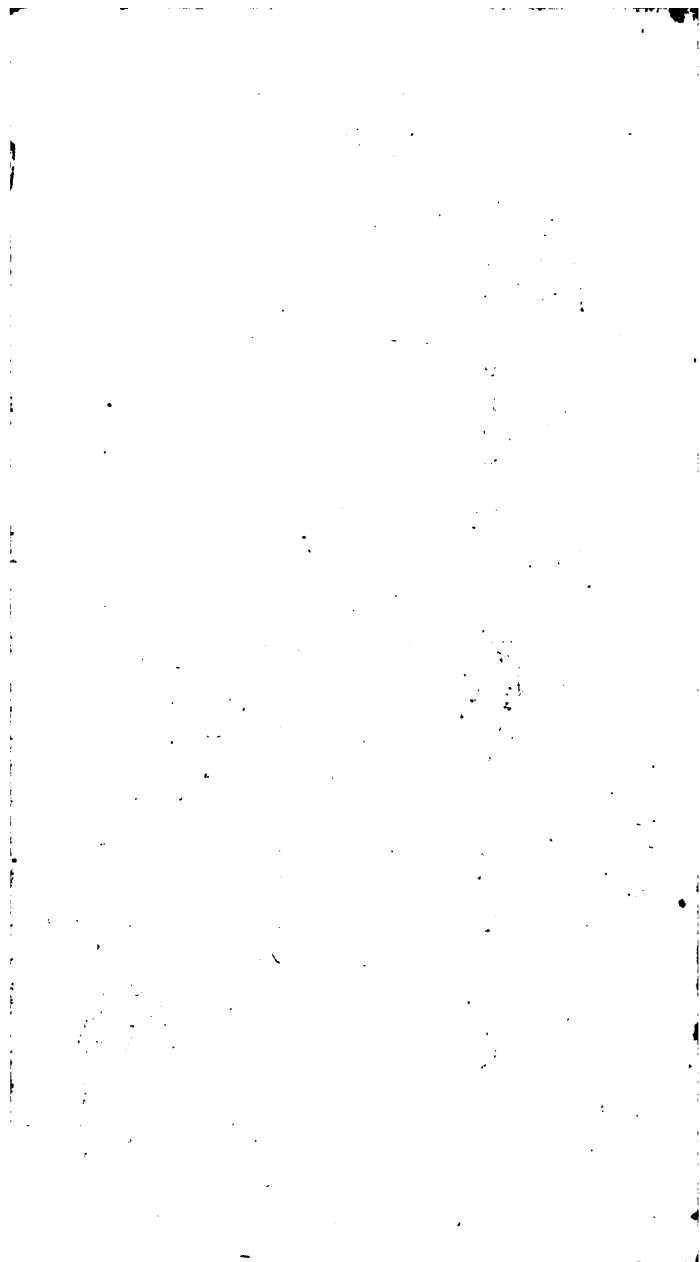


She died, in the flower of her age, a short time after she had married her second husband colonel Pape: her son, also, died last year. He was captain in the regiment of the Gotz dragoons.

Thus were all my brothers and sisters punished, because they were mine.

Reader, if thou hast noble thoughts, rejoice with me, and, from my history, learn, that evil itself may convert to good. In the nineteenth year of my age, I lost my fortune, my liberty, my all, honor and fortitude excepted, and these it was not in the power of the despot to take. Two and forty years have I lived deprived of my property, two and forty years endured poverty, and even excessive indigence, with the exception of some few intervals, without ever being guilty of meanness, and in the moment of good fortune, I have been liberal even to prodigality. I often have been deceived, but never was a deceiver. Those who plundered me, blush at my name. I walk proudly, even in the presence of kings. I write truths without disguise, and my writings find toleration and privilege. I was despised, condemned, and rejected, yet obtained, even in the dungeon's depths, than which no man could descend lower, the general esteem and approbation of the worthy.

Thou, great God, hast preserved me amidst my trouble! The purest gratitude penetrates my heart. O that it might please thee never to let mortal endure what I have endured, or that thou wouldst grant him equal strength to wrestle with woe! May this my tragical narration be a lesson to the afflicted, afford hope to the despairing, fortitude to the wavering, and shake and humanize the hearts of kings!



# THE HISTORY of FRANCIS BARON TRENCK,

A PARTISAN COIONEL, AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF  
THE PANTOURS, IN THE SERVICE OF HER  
MAJESTY THE EMPRESS-QUEEN.

*Written by Frederic B. Trenck, as a necessary Supplement  
to his own History.*

**F**RANCIS BARON TRENCK was born, in 1714, in Calabria a province of Sicily. His father was then a governor, and a lieutenant colonel there, and died possessed of these honours, in 1742, at Leitscha in Hungary; lord of the rich manors of Prestowacz, Pletternitz, and Pakratz, in Slavonia, and other considerable estates in Hungary. His christian name was John; he was my fathers brother.

Francis Baron Trenck was his only son; he had attained the rank of colonel during his fathers life, and served with distinction in the army of Maria Teresa.

His father, a bold and daring foldier, idolizing his only son, and superlatively avaricious, wholly neglected his education, so that the passions of this son were most unbridled. Endowed, by nature, with very extraordinary talents, the heir of a rich father, this ardent youth was early his own master, and allowed to indulge the impetuous fire of his constitution. Moderation was ever utterly unknown to him, and good fortune most remarkably favoured all his enterprises. These were numerous, undertaken from no principle of virtue, nor actuated by any motives of humanity. The love of money, and the desire of fame, were the passions of his soul. All his wishes were successful, therefore were all his wishes indulged. To his warlike inclination was added the insensibility of a heart natively wicked; and he found himself an actor, on the great scene of life, at a time when the earth was drenched with human gore; and when the sword decided the fate of nations: hence this chief of pandours, this scourge of the unprotected, naturally became an iron-hearted enemy, a ferocious foe of the human race a formidable enemy in private life, and a peridious friend.

Constitutionally choleric and sanguinary, addicted to voluptuous pleasures, sensual and brave, he was unappeasable when affronted, prompt to act, in the moment of danger circumspect, and when under the dominion of anger, inhuman and cruel even to fury; irreconcilable, artful, fertile in invention, and ever intent on great projects.

When youth and beauty inspired love, he then became supple, insinuating, amiable, gentle, respectful, yet, ever excited by pride unceasingly to pursue his purpose, each conquest gave but new desires of adding another slave over whom he might domineer; and, whenever he encountered unshaken resistance, he even then ceased to be avaricious. A prudent and intelligent woman, turning this part of his character to advantage, might have formed this very singular man to virtue, probity, and the love of the human race; but from his most tender infancy, his will had never suffered restraint, and he thought nothing impossible. As a soldier, he was bold even to temerity; capable of the most hazardous enterprise, and of laughing at the danger himself provoked. His ambitious projects were the more elevated, because the end of all his actions were the acquirement of renown. In council he was dangerous; every thing must cede to his views. To him the means, by which his end was to be obtained, were indifferent. Woe to the wretch who hoped to excite his compassion, by submission and prayer!

The Croats at this time were undisciplined, prone to rapine, thirsting for human blood, and only taught obedience by violence and blows; these had been the companions of his infancy; these he undertook to subvert, by servitude and fear, to military subordination and, from banditti, to make them soldiers. His habitual intercourse with such a species of men gave him that fierceness of character, which had been so often remarked in tyrants.

With respect to his exterior, Nature had been prodigal of her favours. His height was six feet three inches, and, though his stature was gigantic, the symmetry of his limbs was exact; his form was upright, his countenance was agreeable, yet masculine, and

his strength almost incredible. He could sever the head from the body of the largest ox, with one stroke of his sabre, and he was so adroit at this turkish practice, that he at length could behead men as if he were cleaving turnips. In the latter years of his life, his aspect was become terrible, because that, during the Bavarian war, he had been scorched by the explosion of a powder-barrel, and his face remained scarred and impregnated with black spots.

In company he rendered himself exceedingly agreeable, spoke seven languages fluently, was jocular possessed wit, and in a serious conversation, understanding: had learned musick, sung with taste, and had a good voice, so that he might be well paid as an actor, had that been his fate. He could even, when disposed, become gentle and complaisant; but, wherever he could command, he was a monster.

His look told the man of observation that he was cunning and choleric; and his wrath was terrible. He was ever suspicious, because he judged others by himself. Self-interest and avarice ever constituted his ruling passion, and, whenever he had an opportunity of increasing his wealth, he equally disregarded the duties of religion, the ties of honor, and human pity. In the thirty first year of his age, when he was possessed of nearly two millions, he did not expend a florin per day, in that he even denied himself necessities.

As he and his pandours always led the van, and he thence had the opportunity to ravage the enemies country, at the head of troops so addicted to rapine, we must not wonder that Bavaria, Silesia, and Alsatia, were so plundered. He alone purchased the booty from his troops, at a low price, and this he sent by water to his own estates. If any one of his officers made a rich capture, Trenck instantly became his enemy. He was sent on every dangerous expedition, till he fell, and the colonel became his universal heir, for Trenck appropriated all he could to himself.

He was reputed to be a man most expert in military science, an excellent engineer, and to possess an exact eye estimating heights and distances. Hence he had the first advantage that a partizan leader can enjoy, that of being perfectly acquainted with the coun-

try in which the war is carried on. In all enterprises he was the first; inured to fatigue, his iron body could support it without inconvenience. Nothing escaped his vigilance, all was turned to account, and what valour could not accomplish, cunning supplied. His pride suffered him not to incur an obligation, and thus was he by principle unthankful; his actions all centred in self, and as he was remarkably fortunate in whatever he undertook, he ascribed even that which accident gave, to foresight and genius. Depending thus on himself, he was incapable of seeking, valuing, or maintaining friendship; therefore was abandoned, when he most needed the firm support of friendship.

Yet was he ever, as an officer, a most useful and estimable man to the state. His love and respect for his sovereign, and his zeal in her service, were unbounded; wherever her glory was at stake, he would willingly have devoted himself her victim. This I assert to be truth: I probed his heart, and knew him well.

He had the honor first to form, and command, regular troops, raised in Scia vonia. The soldiers acquired glory under their leader, and sustained the tottering power of Austria: they made libations of their blood in its defence, as did Trenck, in various battles. He served like a brave warrior, with zeal, loyalty and effect.

The vile persecutions of his enemies, at Vienna, with whom he refused to share the plunder he had made, lost him honor, liberty, and not only the personal property he had acquired, but likewise the family patrimony, in Hungary. He died like a malefactor, illegally sentenced, in imprisonment; and knaves have affirmed, and fools have believed, and believe still, he took the king of Prussia prisoner, and that he granted him freedom, in consequence of a bribe. So have loyal Hungarians been led to suppose that a Hungarian had really been a traitor.

Trenck, the father, was a miser, past service, yet a well-meaning man. Trenck, the son, on the contrary, was a youthful soldier, turbulent and hot, who stood in need of money to indulge his pleasures. Ma-

ny curious pranks he played, when an ensign in I know not what regiment of foot.

He went to one of the collectors of his father's rents and demanded money; the collector refused to give him any, and, Trenck cleaved his skull with his sabre. A prosecution was commenced against him; but, war breaking out, in 1736, between the Russians and the Turks, he, with the permission of the court of Vienna, raised a squadron of Hussars, and went with it into the Russian service, contrary to the will of his father.

In this war he distinguished himself highly, and acquired the protection of field-marshal Munich. He was so successful, and so daring, as a partisan leader against the Tartars, that he became very famous in the army, and at the end of the campaign, was appointed major.

It happened, on the same occasion, that flying parties of turks approached the front of his regiment, when on the march, and Trenck, seeing a favourable moment for attacking them, went to colonel Rumin, desiring that the regiment might be led to the charge, and that they might profit by so fair an opportunity. The timid colonel answered, "I have no such orders." Trenck then demanded permission to charge the Turks only with his own squadron; but this was refused.—He immediately became furious, for he had never been acquainted with contradiction or subordination, and cried aloud to the soldiers—"If there be one brave man among you, let him follow me." About two hundred immediately stepped from the ranks: he put himself at their head, routed the enemy, made a horrible carnage, and returned intoxicated with joy, accompanied by prisoners, and loaded with severed heads.

Once more arrived in presence of the regiment, he attacked the colonel, treated him like the rankest coward, called him approbrious names, and beat him, without the other daring to make the least resistance.

The adventure however became known; Trenck was arrested and ordered to be tried.

His judges condemned him to be shot—and the day was appointed—but the evening before execution, field

marshal Munich passed, either by chance or design, near the tent in which he was confined.—Trenck saw him, came forward and said—“Certainly your excellency will not suffer a foreign cavalier to die an ignominious death, because he has chastised a cowardly Russian? If I must die, at least give me permission to saddle my horse, and, with my sabre in my hand, let me fall surrounded by the enemy.”

The Tartars happened to be at this time harassing the advanced posts: the field-marshal shrugged his shoulders and was silent.—Trenck still not discouraged, added—“I will undertake to bring your excellency three heads, or lose my own. Will you, if I do, be pleased to grant me my pardon?”—The field-marshal replied—“Yes.” The horse of Trenck was immediately brought; he galloped to the enemy, and returned singly, with four heads knotted to his horse’s mane, himself only slightly wounded in the shoulder.

Munich embraced him; and immediately appointed him to be a major in another regiment.

Various, and almost incredible were his feats:—among others, a Tartar had run him through the belly with his lance: Trenck grasped the projecting end with his hands, exerted his prodigious strength, broke the lance, set spurs to his horse, and happily escaped. Of this wound, dreadful as it was, he was soon cured.

During this campaign he behaved with great honor, was wounded by an arrow in the calf of the leg, and gained the affection of the field-marshal Munich, but excited the envy of the Russians. Towards the conclusion of the war he had a new misfortune; his regiment was on the march, and incommoded on all sides by the enemy: he intreated his colonel for the love of God to permit him to attack them. The colonel was once more a Russian, and he refused. Trenck gave him a blow, and called aloud to the soldiers to follow him. They however being Russians, remained motionless—and he was put under arrest.

The court-martial sentenced him to death—and all hope of reprieve seemed over. The general would willingly have granted his pardon, but as he was himself a foreigner, he was fearful of offending the Russians by such partiality, they having begun to murmur.



The day of execution came, and he was led to the place of death—Munich however so contrived it that field-marshal Lowenthal should pass by at this moment in company with his lady. Trenck profited by the opportunity, spoke boldly, and prevailed. A reprieve was requested, and the sentence was changed into banishment and labour into Siberia.

Trenck protested against this sentence. The field-marshal wrote to Peterburgh, and an order came that he should be broken and conducted out of the Russian territories. This order was accordingly executed, and he returned into Hungary to his father.

At this period he espoused the daughter of the field-marshal baron Tillier, of one of the first families in Switzerland.

The two brothers of his wife, each became lieutenant-generals, one of whom died honorably during the seven years war, and particularly favoured by his sovereign. The other was made commander general in Croatia, where he is still living, and at the head of a regiment of infantry that bears his name.

Trenck did not long live with his lady. She was pregnant, and his diversions being ever consonant to his unruly temperament, he took her to hunt with him in a marsh, whence she returned ill, being unaccustomed to such exercise, and died without leaving him an heir.

Warlike inclinations would not long permit him to remain idle.—Having no opportunity to indulge these because of the general peace, he conceived a project of extirpating the Slavonian banditti.

The title of their chiefs was Harum-Bashaw; and they were elected from among the strongest, the most intelligent, and the boldest men of the nation. So severe were their laws, that the smallest fault was punished by strangling the culprit.

If any one of their comrades had been betrayed, there is no example that they ever so much as spared the infant, even in its mother's womb.

Their vengeance was unlimited; and if by chance the whole band were defeated with slaughter, in such kind of attempts, the new Harum-Bashaw of their

successors was bound to carry fire and sword, where his predecessor had fallen.

In effect they were true partisans; maintained spies in Turkey, and occasionally fell upon the Turkish banditti, taking from them their booty, and plundering and assassinating the caravans of merchants.—Therefore they spread universal terror through the country: no one durst expose himself to their enmity; and all the landholders paid them a small contribution, that they might protect them from the incursions of the Turkish banditti. These their tributaries, and their vassals under them, lived tranquil and in full security, for it was a law among the Sclavonian banditti, never to forfeit their word.

Each Harum-Bashaw had a stipulated number of men, and when any one of them died, all the youths, most adroit and renowned for their fears, became candidates for the vacant place, because that these banditti lived in abundance, and were not obliged to work.

They freely traversed all the country armed, and well known by their large rings and buttons of silver. When government thought proper to pursue and attack them, and they were obliged to encounter the regulars, they generally had the advantage, and could take shelter when attacked, in their vast forests, with the paths and thickets of which they were all acquainted. At such times they became a great nuisance to the neighbouring hamlets, which they pillaged at pleasure.

Trenck therefore began his military exploits anew against this singular race of men. To execute this enterprise, he employed his own vassals and pandours. He was afterward assisted by a detachment of regulars, having promised the court of Vienna that he would totally destroy these banditti. The bloody contest now commenced—men were racked and impaled, and it may perhaps be safely affirmed that more activity, precaution and courage, were necessary to insure success in such a kind of war, than to lead a great army to the field of battle.

Trenck seemed born for this murderous trade. Day and night on the watch, he chased them like wild beasts, by tracing their footsteps; killing now one, and then

another, and treating them undistinguishedly with the utmost barbarity. Father and son alike must bleed: nor was he himself a moment certain he should not fall into their hands, or be betrayed by his own soldiers.

Two incidenss which I shall here relate, will sufficiently paint the character of this unaccountable man.—He had impaled alive the father of a Harum-Bashaw. One evening he was going on patrolle along the banks of a brook which separated two provinces. On the opposite shore was the son of this impaled father, with his Croats.—It was moon-light, and the latter called aloud.——

“I hear thy voice, Trenck!—Thou hast impaled my father!—Thou persecutest us like a rascal, with craft and cruelty. If thou hast a heart in thy body, come hither over the bridge—I will send away my followers; leave thy fire-arms, come only with thy sabre, and we will then see who shall remain the victor.”

The agreement was made—and the Harum-Bashaw sent away his Croats and laid down his musket. Trenck passed the wooden bridge; both drew their sabres; but Trenck treacherously killed his adversary with a pistol that he had concealed, after which he severed his head from his body, took it with him, and stuck it upon a pole.

One day when he was hunting, he heard music in a lone house which belonged to one of his vassals. He was thirsty, entered, and found the guests seated at table. He set himself down and ate with them, not knowing that this very house was a place of rendezvous for the banditti.

As he was seated opposite the door at a long narrow table, he saw two Harum-Bashaws armed, and of a gigantic stature enter. His musket stood in a corner; he was struck with terror; but one of the banditti addressed him thus:

“Neither thee nor thy vassals Trenck have we ever injured, yet dost thou pursue us with unexampled cruelty. We think more nobly. Eat thy fill; we could nail thee to the wall; but fear nothing. When thou hast satisfied thy hunger, we will then sabre in hand, see who hath most justice on his side, and whether thou art as courageous and invincible as men speak thee.”

## THE HISTORY OF

they set themselves down opposite him and began to eat and drink and make merriment of Trenck could not be very pleased, that besides these two there were of their companions without ready to 1; he therefore privately drew his pistol, held them under the table while they presented each hand to the body of the hawk, fired them both at the same instant, able on the other guests, and safely escaped the house. As he went he had time to seize his muskets, which was standing at the door. Two coats were left weltering in his blood: the aged himself from the table, and ran like a deer after Trenck, who suffered him to approach him with his own gun, struck off his head and returned home in triumph.

By this action the banditti were deprived of their principal chiefs, and, likewise of their courage, cut off on every side, numbers of them in the Turkish states.

About this time, in the year 1740, the Hungarians took up arms in defence of their king and beloved queen. Trenck wrote to Vienna to raise a free corps of Pandours, and to grant a general amnesty for all the banditti who joined his troops. His request was granted, he granted amnesty, and began to raise recruits; many of the banditti came to join his colours; he enrolled his own vassals, formed a corps of a hundred men; went in search of the robbers, and found them in a strait between the Save and the Danube, where they at length capitulated, and about a third of them enrolled themselves with his

These men were six feet in height, upright, and experienced soldiers, that could swim, were accustomed to run, like roe-bucks, for miles through the forests. These were necessary requisites which could be admitted among the banditti.

He wondered at, that an able leader of robbers, found nothing impossible, or that he was so brave and daring as he was, even to

rashness, feats that almost appear miraculous. So long as any of these banditti remained, the name of the pandours was terrible; but a man like himself only was capable of establishing discipline, order, and subordination among them. To indulge them on certain occasions, in their riots and thirst of pillage, were means which he often successfully employed to lead them where he pleased, and to render them victorious. To be dauntless in the midst of danger, to be ever at their head, to speak only of plunder and good cheer, are the requisites for an officer of such troops, and without which he will find it difficult to lead them to the attack. Should they perceive timidity in him, they become inactive, mutinous, and desert. To render them effective, he must treat them with severity, and must wink at that excess of barbarity to which they often abandon themselves.

By means like these Trenck accomplished his purposes, became the terror of the enemies of Austria, and rendered most signal services to his empress.

In 1741, when his soldiers were yet undisciplined, as he was exercising his regiment, a company fired upon Trenck with ball, and killed his horse under him, and his servant that stood by his side. He ran, furious to the company, counted one, two, three, and beheaded the fourth. He was continuing this, when a Harum-Bashaw left the ranks, drew his sabre, and called aloud,—“It was I who fired upon thee, defend thyself.” The soldiers stood motionless spectators. Trenck attacked him, and had the good fortune to hew him down.

He was then proceeding to continue the execution of the fourth man, but the whole regiment presented their arms. The revolt became general, and Trenck still holding his drawn sabre, ran like a lion amidst them, hacking about him on all sides. The excess of his rage was terrific; the soldiers all called ‘hold,’ each fell on his knees, and promised obedience. After this he cordially embraced some of them, remonstrated and harangued to them in language suitable to their character and from that time, they became invincible soldiers when they were headed by himself.

It may well be asked whether a man, who in like perils is capable of acting with like intrepidity, ought to

be judged by common rules. Trenck, however was condemned by the decision of some pacific court martial judges, who had grown old in a soldier's uniform, without ever having stained it with their own blood. Let the situation of Trenck be considered; be it remembered that he was chief of a band of robbers accustomed to rapine, and who supposed they were authorised to take whatever they pleased, in an enemy's country; a banditti that had so often deserved the gallows, that had never known military subordination. Let such men be suddenly led to the field, and opposed to regular troops. That they are never acted upon by a principle of honour is evident; their leader, therefore is obliged to excite their avidity by the hope of plunder, thus to engage them to action; for if they perceive no personal advantage, the command of the chief, or the interest of the sovereign are wholly insufficient to make them act. Turks may be led to battle from such motives, but not the artful Slavonian, who flies danger where nothing is to be gained.

Trenck, had likewise, need of a particular species of officers. They, like their chief, must at once be daring, yet cautious. They were partisans, and must therefore be more capable of supporting fatigue, than any regular troops; more desirous of daily seeking the enemy, and hazarding their lives. Few are to be found who have the inclination and the qualities requisite for so dangerous a trade; and, when such forces first are raised, the first who present themselves are necessarily accepted.

As he was himself never absent at the time of action, he soon became acquainted with the character of those whom he called old women, and sent them from his regiment, without any other process than his own command, when he learned that any one among them had hidden himself in a ditch, or had not run to the assault at the head of his pandours. The number of officers so discharged, increased, they all repaired to Vienna, vented their complaints and were heard.

Envious of his good fortune, the enemies of Trenck were on the watch. His own avarice prevented him making any division of his rich booty, with those gentlemen who constituted the military courts, thereby no-

glecting what was customary at Vienna; hence originated the prosecution to which he fell a victim.

Scarcely had he entered Austria, with his Slavonian troops before he found an opportunity of gathering laurels. The French army was defeated at Lintz. Trenck every where pursued them, treated his prisoners with barbarity; and, never granting quarter in battle, the very appearance of his pandours inspired terror. Their cruelties, their irresistible attacks, and these artful stratagems they had learnt in their chieftish apprenticeship, were productive of effects, equally dreadful and unforeseen.

Trenck was prudent, vigilant, a great warrior, and knew how to profit by the slightest advantage. From this time he became known and renowned, gained the confidence of prince Charles, and the particular esteem of the field-marshal count Kevenhuller, who had penetration to discover the worth of the man, and to turn the talents he possessed to advantage. No partisan had ever before obtained so much power as Trenck; he every where preceded the army, and pursued the enemy as far as Bavaria, carrying fire and sword wherever he went. The state reaped the advantages of conquest, and the pandours of plunder, by the hope of which alone they were actuated, and under a leader so proper for themselves, acted wonders.

Bavaria was laid waste. Prince Charles granted Trenck a carte blanche; and, as it was well known Trenck gave no quarter, the Bavarians and the French flew at the sight of a red mantle. Pillage and murder attended the pandours wherever they went, and their colonel bought up all the booty they acquired.

Chamb in particular was a scene of dreadful and savage massacre. The city was set on fire at every corner, and the inhabitants miserably perished in the flames; those women and children who endeavoured to fly were obliged to pass over a bridge, where they were first stripped, and afterwards thrown into the water. This action was one of the accusations brought against Trenck when he was persecuted; but he alleged in his justification—

First, That the citizens of Chamb had cut off the hands of six pandour prisoners, and had led them in triumph through the town.

Secondly, That the place had been taken by assault.

Thirdly, That prince Charles had given him orders thus to act.

The banks of the Iser at this day reverberate groans for the barbarities of Trenck. Deckendorf and Filtzhofen felt all his fury. In the first of these towns, six hundred French capitulated, although his forces were four miles distant; but he formed a kind of straw men, on which he put pandour caps and cloaks, set them up as sentinels, and the garrison intimidated and deceived by this stratagem, signed the capitulation, in company only of himself, his adjutant, and some officers.

He was informed by a spy, that either at Dickendorf or Filtzhofen, I do not exactly remember which, there was a barrel containing twenty thousand florins, concealed at the house of an apothecary. Impelled by the desire of booty, Trenck hastened to the place indicated, with a candle in his hand, searching every where, and in his hurry dropt a spark into a quantity of gun-powder which happened to be there, by the explosion of which he was dashed against the ground and dreadfully scorched. They carried him off; but the scars and the gun-powder with which his skin was blackened, in consequence of this accident, rendered his countenance remarkably terrific.

The present field-marshal Laudohn was at that time a lieutenant in his regiment, and happened to be at the door when his colonel was burnt. Scarcely was Trenck cured before his spies had informed him that Laudohn had plenty of money, and that he and his friends lived merrily. Immediately he suspected that Laudohn had indubitably found the barrel of florins, and from that moment he persecuted this worthy man, by all imaginable arts. Wherever there was danger he sent him, at the head of some thirty men, against three hundred, hoping to have him cut off; and to make himself his heir.

This was so often repeated, that Laudohn began to be weary, quitted the corps, and retreated to Vienna, where joining the crowd of accusers and enemies of Trenck, he became instrumental to his destruction. Yet is it certain that, in the beginning, Trenck had shown a friendship for Laudohn, had given him a com-



mission, and that this, at present really great man, learned in the society and under the command of Trenck, his military principles.

General Tillier, whose warlike ardour is well known to the whole army, was likewise formed in this nursery of soldiers, where officers were taught activity, stratagem, and enterprize. And who are now more capable of commanding a Hungarian army than Tillier and Laudohn.

I one day said to Trenck, when he was in Vienna, embarrassed by all the difficulties of his prosecution, and when he had published a defamatory writing against all his accusers, excepting no man—"You have always told me that Laudohn was one of the most capable of your officers, and likewise a worthy man. Wherefore then do you class him among such wretches?"

He replied, "What! would you have me praise a man who labours at the very head of my enemies, to rob me of honor, property, and life?"

Bavaria was totally plundered by Trenck, as has been said: barges were loaded with gold, silver, and effects, which he sent to his estates in Slavonia; prince Charles and count Kevenhuller countenanced his proceedings; but when field-marshal Neupreg was at the head of the army, he had other principles. He was connected with baron Tiebes, a counsellor of the Hofkriegsrath, who was all-puissant over military men, and consequently was the enemy of Trenck.

Persecution proceeded so far, that a suit was at that time instituted against him, and Trenck was imprisoned; but he defended himself so powerfully, that in a month's time he was set at liberty.

Mentzel mean while had the command of the pandours, and this man, who was the son of a butcher, and who had none of the principles of a soldier, appropriated to himself all the fame that Trenck had acquired by the valour of warriors he himself had formed.

Mentzel attained the reputation of an excellent partisan, but it was well known to the army he never was the equal of Trenck, nor will be so called in history. Trenck now increased the number of his Croats to four thousand, from whom in 1743, a regiment of Hungari-

an regulars was formed, but that still retained the name of pandours. It was a regiment of infantry.

Trenck also had six hundred hussars, and one hundred and fifty chassieurs, whom he raised and equipped at his own expense. Yet, when this corps was reduced, all was sold for the profit of the Imperial treasury, or in some manner embezzled, without ever bringing a shilling to account.

With a corps so numerous, he was capable of undertaking great enterprizes. The enemy fled wherever he was named. He continually led the van, raised contributions which amounted to several millions, carried various places by assault, delivered into the hands of his emperors during the space of five years, seven thousand prisoners, French and Bavarian, and more than three thousand Prussians, having slaughtered at least as many, which no other partisan can boast.

A circumstance most remarkable is, he never was defeated. His projects were all successful, he therefore gained esteem and confidence among his troops, and will eternally remain in the page of history the first man who rendered the rude and savage Croats efficient soldiers.

This was impossible to perform among a stupid and blood-thirsty people, without being guilty himself of extravagant and cruel acts. The necessity of the excesses he committed at a time when the army was every where in want of forage, was so evident that he received the unlimited permission of prince Charles, though for this he was afterward prosecuted; while on the contrary, the plunders of Barenklau, Mentzel, and the whole army, were never once questioned.

That Trenck advanced more than a hundred thousand florins to this regiment, I clearly proved in the year 1750. This also came too late. He was dead. The evidence I brought, however, occasioned the quarter-master Frederic to be eight months imprisoned. He confessed the embezzlement of this money, yet he found so many friends among the enemies of Trenck that he refunded nothing, but was released in the year 1754, when I was thrown into the dungeon of Magdeburg.

In 1744 he obliged the French to retire beyond the Rhine, seized on a fort near Phillipsburg, swam across

the river with seventy pandours, attacked the fortifications, slew the marquis de Crevecoeur with his own hand, a death he merited by his negligence, manned the post, afterward traversed the other arm of the Rhine, surprised two Bavarian regiments of cavalry in their camp, and by this daring manœuvre, secured the passage of the Rhine to the whole army, which, but for him, would not have been effected.

His valour then spread terror and fear throughout Alsatia. Wherever he came he laid the country under contribution, and at this moment of triumph for the Austrian arms, opened himself a passage on what side he pleased, to enter the territories of France.

In September 1744, war having once more broke out between Austria and Prussia, the Imperial army was obliged precipitately to return, abandon Alsatia, and hasten to the succour of the Austrian states. Trenck who had so happily opened the passage of the Rhine for the army, as gloriously succeeded in covering its retreat.

The history of Maria Teresa declares what were the damages he did the enemy, during the campaign of this memorable year. He gave very signal proofs of his capacity and zeal at Tabor and Budwies. With three hundred men only, he had the boldness to attack one of those towns, which was defended by the two Prussian regiments of Walrabe and Kreutz. An enterprize like this against Prussian soldiers sufficiently speaks the man.

He found however that the water in the moats of the town, was deeper than his spies had declared it to be, and the scaling ladders too short: most of those led to the attack were drowned or killed in the water, and the small number that crossed the moats were made prisoners. The garrisons of Tabor and Budwies, and that of the castle of Frauenberg, were nevertheless induced to capitulate, and yield themselves prisoners of war, although the main body under Trenck was still more than five miles distant.

His corps did not come up till the morrow, and it was ridiculous enough to see the pandours dressed in the caps of the Prussian fusiliers and pioneers, which they wore instead of their own, and which they afterward continued to wear.

Unprejudiced persons will determine whether these were real services rendered to his empress.

The campaign to him was uninterruptedly glorious, and the enemy's want of light troops gave free scope to his enterprizes, highly to their prejudice. His activity was incessant, and he never returned without prisoners. He passed the Elbe near Pardubitz, took the magazines, and was himself the cause of the great dearth and unheard of desertion among the Prussians, and of that hasty retreat to which they were forced.

The king was at Colin with his head-quarters where I myself was with him, when Trenck attacked the town, which I presume he must have carried, had he not on the first assault been wounded by a cannon ball, which shattered his right foot. He was therefore taken away, and the attack did not succeed. His wound was very dangerous. The empress-queen thought proper to send him a surgeon from Vienna. The foot was obliged to be all laid open; he lost the ankle bone, and even a part of the tibia, and remained four months confined to his bed like a furious madman, at being so long unable to assault the enemy, while his men, without him, remained but so many cyphers.

In 1745 he went to Vienna, where his entrance into the city resembled a triumph. Every body ran to see and wonder at the pandour Trenck; and this universal applause did but the more increase the envy of his enemies. The empress-queen received him with the most honorable distinction. He appeared in her presence with crutches; she obliged him to be seated, and by her condescending speech, inflamed his zeal even to extravagance.

Intoxicated as he was with joy, he returned to his estate, and raised eight hundred new recruits, that he might in the following campaign gather new laurels. He rejoined the army, obtained whatever he asked at court, and was continually active during the whole summer in the execution of incessant and laborious projects.

At the battle of Sorau, which was fought in September, he fell upon the Prussian camp, and as I have before related, seized on the tent of the king and his service of plate; but he came an hour too late to attack

the rear, as had been pre-concerted. The politic Frederic willingly gave up his camp to be plundered, for the rude Croats engaged in this business could not easily be drawn off to attack the army, and the king was prepared to receive them, even if they should. In the mean time the Imperial army was defeated.

The enemies of Trenck, publicly accused him of having made the king of Prussia a prisoner in his tent, and of afterward restoring him to liberty; that he also remained pillaging the camp, instead of attacking the rear of the army, and that he alone thus occasioned the loss of the battle. His friends informed him of what was going forward, and that the storm was gathering.

After having gloriously ended the campaign, he returned to Vienna to defend himself. Here he found already assembled, three and twenty of his officers whom he had cashiered, and expelled his regiment; most of them for either cowardice or mean actions. Perhaps, among them, there might be three or four who had just cause of complaint; but these were poor and without protection. There were, however, wicked men found, who suffered themselves to be seduced by the enemies of Trenck, to bear false testimony. The military court counsellor Weber, and general Lowenwalde, had sworn his downfall, which they effected. Their principal view was the sequestration of his property, that they might securely fish in troubled waters.

Trenck, who was innocent of any state crime, despised their attacks. While things remained thus, they posited one of the empress's female attendants, with instructions, to profit by every favourable opportunity to deprive him of her confidence. Than this nothing could be more easy. It was presently affirmed, Trenck is an atheist! A libertine! Who never tells his beads! Who never prays to the holy virgin! Who never buys indulgencies!

His debauched life was the next topic; his barbarities committed in the enemies country; the unbridled excess of his pandours; his robberies in the churches of Bavaria; his plunderings, and the vast riches he had accumulated; all which had been performed, with

an evident intention of becoming a dangerous rebel in Slavonia !

The officers whom he had broken, whispered it in tap-rooms and coffee-houses, that Trenck had taken and set free the king of Prussia. This was sufficient to raise the cry among the silly and fanatic mob at Vienna. Teazed by their complaints, and at the requisition of Trenck himself, the empress-queen commanded that a legal examination should be undertaken of these accusations. Field-marshal Cordova, a man of merit and probity, was chosen to preside over this committee of enquiry. He acquitted himself with impartiality, spoke the truth, and drew up a state of the case, which he presented to the court, and which I shall here cite. "The complaints brought against him were all of a nature not to require a court-martial. Trenck had occasionally behaved improperly to some officers, whom he had broken by his own proper authority; therefore their demands ought to be satisfied, by the payment of twelve thousand florins. The remaining accusations were all the vile attempts of revenge and calumny, and were totally insufficient to detain, at Vienna, entangled in law-suits, a man so necessary to the army. Moreover, it would be prudent not to enquire too minutely into trifles, in consideration of his great services."

Trenck, dissatisfied by this sentence, and animated by avarice and pride, refused to pay a single florin, took post and retired to his estates in Slavonia.

His presence was necessary at Vienna, to obtain other advantages against his enemies, whom he despised too much, and whom he already supposed conquered. They, on the contrary, profiting by every occasion, gave the empress-queen to understand, through a third person, that being a man excessive dangerous, whenever he supposed himself injured, Trenck had very pernicious views in Slavonia, where all were dependent on his power.

Yet what did my cousin on his estates ?—He raised six-hundred more men, with whom he made a glorious campaign in the Netherlands, and in October 1746, returned to Vienna. It is well known that after the peace of Dresden, his regiment was incorporated among the regulars, and served against France.

Scarcely had he arrived at Vienna, before an express order came, from the empress-queen, that he must remain under arrest in his chamber.

Here he rendered himself guilty by the most imprudent action of his whole life, which every man in his senses must disapprove, but yet which marks the intractibility of his character, though it afforded new arms to his enemies.

He ordered his most sumptuous carriage and best horses, left his chamber by his own private authority, and despising the Imperial mandate, went publicly to the theatre, where the empress-queen was present.

In one of the boxes he saw count Gossau, in company with a quondam comrade of his own whom he had cashiered: these honorable persons were among the foremost of his accusers. Enflamed with anger and the desire of revenge, he entered the box like a madman; seized count Gossau, and would have thrown him into the pit, in the presence of the sovereign herself. Gossau drew his sword, and endeavoured to run him thro' but the latter seized it, wounding him in the hand. Every body ran to save Gossau, who was unable to defend himself against so savage a giant. After this exploit, the grim colonel of pandours returned foaming home.

Such an action rendered it impossible for Maria Teresa to declare herself the protectress of a man so rash. Sentinels, therefore, were placed over him, and his enemies so well profited by his imprudence and passion that he was ordered to be tried by a court-martial.

General Lowenwalde intrigued so successfully that he procured himself to be named, by the Hofkriegsrath president of the court-martial, and of the committee of enquiry, and to be charged with the sequestration of the property of Trenck. In vain did the latter protest against his judge. The very man whom the year before, he had kicked out of the anti-chamber of Prince Charles, received full power to denounce him guilty.

Then was it that, as I have before said, public notice was given that all those who would come and prefer complaints, or bear witness against colonel baron Trenck, should receive a ducat per day, while the council continued to sit. How quickly complaints would increase, may easily be imagined. They soon amount-

ed to fifty-four, the major part of whom merited the pillory, and who, in the space of four months, received fifteen thousand florins, deducted from the property of Trenck.

The judge himself purchased the depositions of false witnesses; and I here declare, upon my honour, that count Lowenwalde offered me a thousand ducats, if I would betray the secrets of my cousin; and that he farther promised me I should very soon be put in possession of my confiscated estates in Prussia, and have a company in a regiment.

A prosecution managed by such judges, supported by such witnesses, must, of necessity, be for the righteous purpose of obtaining justice!

I am convinced, and the acts of the revision of the process of Trenck will prove, that more than forty manifestly false oaths were on this occasion sworn.

Trenck was accused, on the tenth sitting, that the battle of Sorau had been lost through his negligence. This accusation he proved to be false, by a written testimony under the hand of prince Charles himself, who declared that the officer of artillery, sent with the order for Trenck to march to the attack, had lost himself, and that he did not arrive till a few moments before the battle began. This proof so highly irritated count Loenwalde, that he broke out into injurious expressions against prince Charles. Trenck, who loved and honoured his benefactor, became so furious that he instantly seized the president by the throat, tossed him up as a tiger would a cat, carried him to the window, which he opened, and would certainly have dashed him headlong from the fourth story, had not the persons present flew to his aid.

The guard entered, Trenck was immediately conducted to the military house of correction, and chained hand and foot as a malefactor; chained by that very foot which, so short a time before, had been shattered in the service of his sovereign, and which was not then entirely cured. His behaviour was unfaithfully related at court; this sentence of imprisonment was confirmed, and from that time, Trenck was obliged to appear fettered, like a criminal before his enemies, to answer false accusations.



A public courtesan, the mistress of baron Rippenda, who was a member of the court-martial, was bribed and made oath she was the daughter of count Schwerin, field-marshal in the Prussian service, and that she was in bed with the king of Prussia, when Trenck surprised the camp, at Sorau, made her and the king prisoners, and restored them their freedom. She even ventured to name baron Hilaire, aid-de-camp to Frederic, who she affirmed was then present.

Hilaire, who afterward married the baroness Tillier, and who consequently was brother in-law to Trenck, fortunately happened to be in Vienna. He was confronted with this woman, and her falsehood became evident. That worthy gentleman was, nevertheless obliged to remain in prison, where they secretly offered him bribes, which he refused to accept; and, as it was necessary to prevent his speaking, he continued in prison some weeks, and was not released, till by a revision of the suit, this shameful proceeding was made public.

Count Lowenwalde invented another infernal artifice; he drew up a false indictment, having taken care to give orders that none of Trenck's friends should have admission to him; and, that he might be prevented all means of justification, or of discovering the deceit, he chose a day to put it in practice, when the emperor and prince Charles were gone to hunt at Holitzsch. Lowenwalde's court-martial had already signed a sentence of death, and every preparation for the immediate erecting of a scaffold was made. His intention was then to go to the empress-queen, and induce her to sign the sentence, under pretence that there was some imminent peril at hand, if a man so dangerous to the state was not immediately put out of the way, and that it would be necessary to execute the sentence of death during the night, before the emperor could return, he well knew the emperor was better acquainted with Trenck, and had ever been his protector.

As it happened however the valet de chambre of count Lowenwalde, who on some occasions was an honest man, and who had an intimacy with a former mistress of Trenck, confided the whole secret to her. She immediately flew to colonel baron Lopresti, who

was the sincere friend of my kinsman, being then rich and powerful at court, was on that occasion his deliverer. The emperor and prince Charles were informed of what was in agitation, but they thought proper to keep the secret. The hunting at Holitzsch took place on the appointed day. Count Lowenwalde made his appearance before the empress queen, and solicited her to sign the sentence. She however had been pre-informed the emperor unexpectedly returned on the same day, and their abominable project proved abortive. The fraud was clearly demonstrated to Maria Teresa; the self-called Miss Schwerm was imprisoned; Lowenwalde was deprived of his power, as well as of the sequestration of the effects of Trenck; a total revision of the proceedings of the court-martial, and of the prosecution of my cousin was ordered, which was an event that till then was unexampled at Vienna.

His affairs after this took another turn: Trenck was freed from his fetters, and was removed to the arsenal, where he was allowed four chambers, an officer to guard him, and every convenience he could wish. He was also permitted the use of a counsellor, and to defend his cause. I obtained myself by the influence of the emperor, leave to visit him at all times, and to aid him in all things.

It was at this epocha that I having recently escaped from the prison of Glatz, arrived at Vienna, and at this very instant, when the revision of the prosecution was commanded, and determined on, count Lowenwalde supposing me a needy thoughtless youth, endeavoured to bribe me, and prevail on me to betray my kinsman.

Prince Charles of Lorraine then desired me seriously to represent to Trenck that his avarice had been the cause of all these troubles, he having refused to pay the paltry sum of twelve thousand florins, by which he might easily have silenced all his accusers; but that at present affairs had become so very serious, he ought himself to secure his judges for the revision of the suit: to spare no money, and then he might be certain of every protection the prince could afford.

The respectable field-marshal Konigseck, governor of Vienna, was appointed president; but being an old

man, almost superannuated, and tormented by the gout, he was unable to preside at any one sitting of the court. Count S— was the vice-president, a subtle, insatiable judge, who never thought he had money enough. I myself took three thousand ducats, which baron Lopresti gave me, agreeably to the desire of Trenck, to this most worthy counsellor.

The two counsellors Komerkansquy and Zetto, each received four thousand rix dollars in advance, with a promise of double the sum, were Trenck acquitted, and his accusers banished Austria.

The other members appointed for this revision were of small importance; they were merely the echoes of whatever the three first pronounced.

In consequence there was a formal contract drawn up, which a certain noble lord secretly signed.

The reader will well suppose that the affairs of Trenck began to wear a much more favourable aspect. He was defended on the criminal part of the prosecution by the advocate Gerhauser, and on the civil by Berger.

They began with the self-appointed daughter of marshal Schwerin; and to conceal the iniquitous proceedings of the late court-martial, it was thought proper that she should act insanity, and return incoherent answers to the questions put by the examiner. Trenck insisted that a more severe inquiry should be instituted; and they affirmed that she had been conducted out of the Austrian territories.

Six years after this event I met with her at Brun, when Trenck was dead. She had married a menial person, and owned she had been induced to play this part by the valet de chambre of count Lowenwalde, from whom she received a bribe of five hundred florins.

My intention was on my return to Brun, to oblige her to make legal oath of this; but her husband had been guilty of a theft, and they had both absconded.

Trenck was accused that he had ordered a certain pandour named Paul Diack, to suffer the ballinado of a thousand blows, and that he had died under the punishment. This was sworn to by two officers, then his accusers, now great men in the army, who in their depositions, said they were eye-witnesses of the fact.

When the revision of the suit began, Trenck sent me into Slavonia, where I found the dead Paul Diack alive and merry, and brought him to Vienna. He was examined by the court, where it appeared that the two officers who had sworn they were present when he expired, and had seen him buried, were at this time a hundred and sixty miles from the regiment, and recruiting in Slavonia. Paul Diack had been engaged in plots, and had mutinied threetimes. Trenck had pardoned him, as he was an extremely useful soldier, one of the banditti; but, after mutinying once more with forty others, he was condemned to death. At the place of execution he called to his colonel, "Father, if I receive a thousand blows, will you pardon me?" Trenck replied in the affirmative. He received the punishment, was taken to the hospital, cured; and on this occasion proved the perjury of the accusers of Trenck.

I brought with me fourteen more witnesses from Slavonia, who attested the falsity of other articles of accusation, which in themselves were little worthy of attention. The cause wore a new aspect; it was impossible to substantiate any one of the criminal charges, and the wickedness of those who were so desirous to have seen him executed, became apparent.

They also accused him of having robbed and murdered a dealer in second hand trinkets and laces, in Vienna, who was found strangled; and soon afterward the man who had committed the crime was discovered, and broken upon the wheel.

One of the most capital articles in the prosecution, and which for ever deprived him of favour or commiseration from his virtuous and apostolic mistress, and for which alone he was condemned to the Spielberg, was that he had ravished the daughter of a miller in Silesia. This was made oath of, and he was not entirely cleared of the charge in the revision, because his accusers had excluded all means of justification. Two years however after his death, I likewise discovered the truth of this affair. The author of this wicked artifice was major Manstein, one of our first cousins, on whom he had heaped favours, whom he had relieved from the deepest distress, and raised to the rank of major in his

regiment, when he had only been four years in the service. This Manstein was vile enough to accuse him of such a crime that he might prevent his return to the regiment: his motive was, because that he in conjunction with the quarter-master Frederici, had appropriated to their own purposes eighty-four thousand florins of the regimental money.

No sooner should Trenck be dead than he might be accused of this embezzlement. Yet it is certain that this miller's virgin was the mistress of Manstein, before she had ever been seen by Trenck. The virtuous Teresa, however, would never forgive him; and in order to satisfy the honor of this distressed damsel, he was condemned to pay eight thousand florins to her, and fifteen thousand to the chest of the invalids, and moreover, to perpetual imprisonment.

Most of the other criminal articles of accusation consisted in Trenck's having beheaded some mutinous pandours, and broken his officers without a court-martial; that he had bought of his soldiers, and melted down the holy vessels of the church, chalices and rosaries, and bastinadoed some priests: had not heard mass every Sunday, and had violently dragged malefactors from certain convents, in which they had taken refuge.

A partisan commander of an undisciplined corps, might well be exculpated from similar complaints, and the officers whom he had caned when they retreated to the rear, and skulked from the fire of the enemy, were soon all silent when the witnesses of Trenck were allowed to appear before the court.—When they were no longer protected, either by Lowenwalde or Weber, they decamped without beat of drum. They, nevertheless, did not cease to labour under the auspices of one more powerful than themselves, to pursue their purpose, which they attained by aid of the court confessor. This holy monk found means to render the holy Maria Teresa insensible of pity, towards a man who had been so prodigal of his blood in her defence.

Trenck was guilty of another capital error. Flattered at the expectation of certain victory, and assured by his friends among the judges, of being acquitted about Easter 1748, he caused the history of his life to be printed at Francfort, in which he not only

his former judges, but by certain phrases gave those who were his partisans in the court of reversion, reason to suspect they also should be betrayed, when they were no longer useful. Gerhauser his advocate, had in such case every thing to fear, he having been made the instrument of bribing the members. Gerhauser required the payment of two thousand ducats before the instrument of acquittal should be executed; and the avaricious Trenck, who supposed himself secure, offered him only one hundred. Judgment was in consequence delayed. Lowenwalde knew well how to profit by the opportunity. Gerhauser discovered the whole secret proceedings; and Lowenwalde, deeply interested in the ruin of Trenck, went to the empress, related the manner in which the judges had been bribed, and threatened that, should he through the protection of the emperor and prince Charles, be declared innocent, he would then publicly vindicate the honor of the late court-martial. On this occasion he attempted to bribe me, to discover what the particulars of the contract were, between Trenck and his judges; I despised him however too much. Nay, I knew that, in concert with the lieutenant of the police, Mannagetta, he had planned my imprisonment on my first arrival at Vienna, pretending that Trenck had taken the king of Prussia prisoner, Frederic had sent me to his assistance, and I was privately to have been kept in confinement till sentence had been passed on my kinsman. This was discovered by the baron Lopresti, just when the artifice of Miss Schwerin was in agitation, and when the whole plan was rendered abortive by the emperor.

When I had forsaken my dangerous relation, as I have already related, and when, fearing his ingratitude, other of his friends also had deserted him, among whom was prince Charles himself, the noble company of his accusers had them an open field; his advocate durst speak no more; the revision of his cause was interrupted, and an arrest was issued on the 20th of August, that he should be perpetually confined as a state prisoner in the Spielberg. His property, however, remained in sequestration, nor was he deprived of it, but gave orders, and examined the accounts of his collectors, to the day of his death.

Thus he fell the victim of a covetous and evil heart. His revision judges had stript him of more than fifty thousand rix dollars, and, at last, fearing detection from him, abandoned him to secure themselves.

Such are the principal circumstances in the prosecution of Trenck, which once was so much the subject of conversation in Vienna. Many trembled, many profited. I have this way had sorrowful cause to know what judges are. His wretched avarice deterred him from making some trifling sacrifices, to secure the remainder of his fortune, recover his liberty, and attain to the highest honors.

He wished to have escaped from the Spielberg, but this he could not accomplish. Had he followed my plan of flight which I proposed, when he was confined in the arsenal of Vienna, he would scarcely have died in prison, nor should I have lain fettered in the dungeon of Magdeburg.

Finding his project of escaping from the Spielberg frustrated, and all hope cut off, this chief of the pandours determined on death. I have before related the manner of this death, of his having sent for a confessor, informed him Saint Francis had appeared to him, that he dispatched his capuchin confessor to Vienna, and on the morrow said, "God be praised, my departure is certain, for my confessor is dead and has appeared to me;" that the confessor actually was dead, that he summoned the officers, shaved his head like a monk, confessed publicly, preached a sermon an hour long, exhorted all his hearers to a holy life, smiled at all earthly good, went to prayers, slept tranquilly, rose the next morning, prayed again, took out his watch about noon, and said, "Praise be to the Almighty, the hour draws nigh;" that those who laughed at his impudent imposture, were amazed to see his face grow pale; that he supported his head on his hands, prayed at his table, remained motionless with his eyes open: that the clock struck twelve, they shook him, but found he was actually dead: that miracle was then the universal cry, and that Saint Francis had descended and carried off the pandour Trenck into Paradise. I have said that all this had been performed by the secret of the poisoned water of Tosano; have further added that

the last ambition of Trenck was to rank high in the calender ; that, perceiving he could no longer be the richest and first of men, he wished to be the greatest of saints ; that he knew he should perform miracles after his death, for he had built a chapel, founded a perpetual mass, and bequeathed six thousand florins to the capuchins ; that he expired in the thirty fourth year of his age, after having been the scourge of Bavaria, whose inhabitants will scarcely ever in their litanies intreat Saint Trenck to be their mediator at the throne of grace ; that he lived the tyrant and enemy of the human race, and died a holy scoundrel.



ANECDOTES of the LIFE of ALEXANDER SCHELL, *who an officer of the guard, in Glatz, delivered me from prison on the 26th of December, 1746, and deserted in my company. Written as a supplement to my history.*

A GREAT personage of Berlin, to whom I related the adventures of Alexander Schell, a lieutenant in the Prussian service, was desirous to see them published ; and this is a task I the more freely undertake, because I perfectly recollect those incidents which I shall here insert, related by himself, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1776. His letters and poems I have lost, three of the former only excepted, which will be hereafter read. The journal of our travel through Poland, written by himself, I have already inserted.

I have faithfully depicted his virtues and his defects, and, should the cold misanthrope disdain such narratives, I shall nevertheless have the satisfaction of knowing that the attention of readers less rigorous will be fixed by the originality of his character, and that they will pardon some of the weaknesses of humanity, remembering the goodness of his heart, and his other inestimable qualities.

Alexander Schell, whose history is so intimately connected with my own, and which my readers may wish to peruse, was of a good family, of the circle of Suabia. His mother was of the house of Lowenstein ; his



father was reduced to poverty, by an unfortunate lawsuit. This is all I know of his origin. Schell the son of whom I speak, entered into the Prussian service, in the regiment of Wurtemberg, which the duke bestowed on the king.

In consequence of some quarrels, he in the year 1744, was sent to the garrison regiment of Mutschessall.

It is well known that these kind of changes are most sensibly felt by the Prussian officers, who never become soldiers that they may grow grey behind the walls of a fortress, in company with invalids, and men acknowledged worthless. Schell, who in reality, was far from being one of the latter, could not but be exceedingly dissatisfied with his state; he wished nothing more than a favourable occasion to desert. From his family he received nothing, and his wants were many. He was much addicted to study, but his amorous disposition and inconstancy kept his pocket continually empty.

His chagrin may well be imagined, when he beheld himself a lieutenant in a garrison battalion, with an income so trifling, without consolation for the present, or hope for the future.

He therefore determined to fly from Glatz the very first opportunity that should offer. To this it must be added that general Fouquet, governor of that citadel, was his persecutor, and put him under arrest for the most trifling fault; especially after Schell had composed a satire, which was every where circulated on the amorous intercourse between the daughter of the general and the town major Doo.

It was at this very time, and at that moment when he feared he should be arrested for debt, that lieutenant Bach proposed to him to supply me with the means of flight, and thus to procure himself a supporter by rendering me service.

His heart was good and compassionate: he had long been affected by misfortune, yet, however, he afterward avowed that the motive, which principally decided him to aid my escape, was the desire of thus revenging himself on general Fouquet.

Were not these circumstances explained, every man must be astonished to read, in my history, that a person to whom I was unknown, who was under no obliga-

tions to me, should determine, while himself was on guard over me, to fly in mid-day, with a prisoner of state, and thus to expose himself to an infamous and certain death, had he been taken. It may be added, there never was a more imprudent or daring an undertaking.

We conceived an inclination and friendship for each other on our first conversation, and he further hoped to make his fortune by my means. We were betrayed, as I have related; a friend gave him information of this, and he might have escaped by himself, but he had promised to restore me to freedom. He, likewise, might have reflected that, having neither money nor resource, he found himself in a foreign country, and in the most deplorable of situations. In great danger he wanted neither courage nor fortitude. He was naturally inconsiderate, and always yielded to the first emotion, abandoning himself to chance. His honor, likewise was engaged to keep his word with me: and these circumstances all united induced him to take the desperate resolution of dying, or escaping in my company. He daringly faced danger, preserved his presence of mind, and aided by him, I executed an enterprize, which because it was successful, has been more admired than blamed.

Never yet, however, did I find another man who had the courage, or the friendship, for me, to perform a like action.

On our return from Thorn to Vienna, we passed thro' Warsaw, where we made some stay.

Schell left me in the afternoon, and returned late to our lodging, without speaking a word concerning where he had been, or what he had done.

On the morrow we went to Cracow; it happened to be the time of the fair, and I determined to exchange the horse of Schell because he was lame. "Since the horse will be yours," said I, it is but right that you should pay the additional money in exchange." Schell immediately burst into a laugh, took out his empty purse from his pocket, and said, I left all my money at the billiard-table at Warsaw; when my horse can go no farther, I will follow you on foot; I neither want horse nor money."

I was surprised at this proof of thoughtless folly ; but what was to be done ? I could only pay the money in exchange, and we journeyed on to Vienna. Here a new misfortune befel this horse ; when Schell wanted money, and intended to have sold him for two thousand florins, he found him strangled by his halter at the manger.

We had not been a month in this city before I had the good fortune to obtain a commission for him, of first lieutenant, in the regiment of Pallavicini, through the interest of prince Charles of Lorraine, to whom he had been recommended by my cousin Trenck. This regiment was in Italy, and destined for the siege of Genoa.

I equipped Schell, gave him money, and sent him on his journey. Some time after, when I supposed him already with his regiment, I received a very laconic letter from him, dated at Glatz, in which he informed me that fortune had played him a new trick, and that he had lost all his money, his watch and horse, and that if I could not once more assist him, he must manage for himself in the best manner he was able.

I happened at this time to have received a supply from Berlin, and sent him five hundred florins, with which he proceeded into Italy. This money, however, was little more successful than the former. He had imprudently borrowed of a friend, to pay his gaming debts, and afterward still more imprudently, made use of the regimental money ; when having no better expedient, he deserted in company with a forager. What highly aggravated his fault was that he entered into the service of a power, with which the Imperialists were then at war. He sent me information, in a tone of the utmost levity, that he was now a corporal in the service of the Genoese.

The behaviour of Schell was highly injurious to all Prussian officers, who after him entered into the service of Austria : but he was wholly incapable of a reflection of this kind.

Fortunately for him, I found an opportunity of recommending him to the Venetian ambassador, at Vienna : once more sent him money, and was so active in his behalf, that in the space of a few months, he was promoted to the rank of officer.

Strange to tell! he quitted this service the very same year, and entered a common soldier under the duke of Modena. He sent me notice of this change, and requested assistance. Baron Lopresti, of whom I have so often spoken, had friends in Modena, and I once more obtained a commission for, and once more equipped Schell. His own personal safety, however, constrained him then to assume the name of Lefsch.

Unhappy is the destiny of a man who is obliged to conceal the name of his family, before he dare associate with worthy men. This misfortune happened to Schell, although he possessed in reality, a sensible and good heart; but his passion for play, and total want of thought, led him astray from the paths of honour, and brought him to wander over the earth like a vagabond.

Once more, thanks be to my interest, behold him a lieutenant in Modena, where he was generally beloved and esteemed, and where he had taken the firm resolution of never gaming more, and of leading a less dissipated life. Perhaps he would have executed these his wise intentions, but they were rendered abortive by his former follies.

At the request of the Duke of Modena, the empress-queen sent some of her officers to instruct his regiment in certain new military manœuvres; and among these, unluckily happened to be two officers belonging to the regiment of Pallavicini. No sooner was Schell informed of this than, dreading to be discovered, as he infallibly must have been had he stayed; he once more deserted from Modena, and entered a common soldier, in the service of Sardinia, in the Swiss regiment of Souter.

Again he wrote, to inform me of this new change, but I was then mourning in my dungeon at Magdeburg, totally unable to be of service to him or myself. When released from my chains, in December 1763, and once more permitted to appear on the scene, I sent to enquire after my friend at Modena, but could hear no tidings of where, or what he was.

Happening in 1769, to be at the house of the Sardinian envoy at Vienna. I there by chance met a captain Renard, of the Swiss regiment of Souter. The conversation turned on many Prussian officers, whom

fortune had ill-treated, and Renard highly praised a man of the name of Lesch, who served in his company in the quality of a foraging secretary. After various questions and enquiries, I perceived this Lesch could be no other than my friend Schell. I immediately wrote to him, and received an answer which deserves to be remembered. I sent him money, but this he returned, and informed me that he had no longer any need of my assistance: that he had bidden adieu to all superfluous vanities; that he tranquilly lived on the perquisites of his place, and on what he gained by teaching languages, drawing, and music; as also by his knowledge of embroidery; and that these together, procured him much more than was necessary. He added that he was esteemed, beloved, and sought for; that he was in good health, had learned to be an economist, and that he would not change his situation for the most splendid fortune; finally, that he never more would receive any thing from me; that I had already done too much for him; and that it was time I should take care of myself.

Affected as I was by his present manner of thinking, I made various proposals to him, to better his fortune, but he persisted in his resolution, contented to remain in his garrison at Alexandria, and desirous of nothing more than of seeing me once more before he should die.

In 1772, at Aix-la-Chapelle, I was astonished to see Schell enter my chamber. He had walked on foot from the farther part of Europe, purposely to see me.—He related his history to me circumstantially, but of this I have forgotten the greatest part.

Pleasure was the only end of his existence. His love of Italy had originated in this his love of pleasure. Purposely to procure himself the society of the most youthful and the most charming of the female sex, he had learnt to embroider in gold, and to perform the most curious works of women. He also taught them several languages, wrote charming verses, and by his talents, had made himself so agreeable to the society he delighted in, that he had passed the last fifteen years of his life in the manner he thought most delightful.

He continued four months at my house, during which he amused himself in instructing my children. This office he performed with peculiar kindness and affability,

and gained the affection of all to whom he was known; but he loved a peaceful and retired life; he was, in reality become a most rational man. His mind, that formerly had been so quick, so alive, had lost its vivacity; he was thoughtless, absent, and often unconnected in conversation. The change became so great, that his only occupation was to read, or to walk in his chamber with an air of profound melancholy. I soon observed that time was tedious to him at Aix-la-Chapelle, and that his heart sighed for Alexandria.

When he had been a month at my house, as he was walking deep in thought, he fell into one of the moats of the city, and dislocated his shoulder, in which state he was brought home.

His patience and fortitude, in this situation were remarkable; he did not utter a single complaint.

After his recovery, he wrote some poetry, but his verses were very unequal to those he had written in the fire of his youth. When I beheld him, and contemplated his countenance and behaviour, I could not avoid foreboding that my friend would soon become insane.

He was conscious of this himself: but said he, I have a small quantity of powder, very proper to cure this misfortune, as well as every other infirmity of old age, and by the aid of which, men may defy all the efforts of fate.

The temper of the man, however, still continued the same. Had I said to him,—“Schell, thou must avenge my cause, a despot king has rendered me miserable;—I am certain he would have gone to Potsdam, without staying a moment to consider, and on the public parade would have executed all that rage could inspire.

He showed me the scars of sixteen wounds, some of which he had received in defence of my honor. He never drew his sword that he was not wounded. He had fractured his arms, and bones in both his feet, by accidents; thanks to those eternal reveries, which in broad day light led him to the edge of some precipice. His sword was in his hand on the smallest occasion, and he laughed when about to bleed.

I wished him to have remained longer with me, but his leave of absence was almost ended, and he desired to return and die at Alexandria. One day, I perceiv-

ed his usual taciturnity and gloom were increased, and the next morning, I found Schell departed, and had left the following letter on my bureau :

‘ My friend,

‘ You already have many children ; how many more you may have, who can say ? You are happy in the possession of the most amiable of wives ; I am but a burthen to you ; you are little enabled to be at any expense for me, and I am not at present inconsiderate enough to abuse your friendship.—The duty of a father is now to you the most sacred of duties. I return contented with having once more seen you, and with leaving you in good health.

‘ Most probably we never shall meet again. Do not disturb yourself concerning me ; I am in need of nothing, and shall find every thing necessary to my happiness at Alexandria : your company alone will be wanting ; but of that it is proper I should deprive myself. I would not that you should suffer the least injury for my sake.

‘ Perverse and wicked men have robbed you of your fortune. If there be an eternal God, who interferes in the affairs of men, he will become your support, he will reward, he will preserve and make you happy in your family. If not, and should even your virtues and your labours all be lost to futurity, yet do they in this world find a noble recompense, in the conscious rectitude of the heart. In the enjoyment of this, few men indeed will be found your equals, consequently you are happy in yourself, and in defiance of fate.

‘ To me you owe nothing ; you have done more for me, than even gratitude and friendship themselves could exact.

‘ True it is I brought you from Glatz, but perhaps your after-sufferings would have been much less severe had I never existed. What I did likewise, I did more from resentment to the king and to Fouquet, than from the desire of serving you, therefore was not my enterprise the pure effect of commiseration and affection—my interest bore a part in it. I was stripped of all support, and ashamed of living, despised in a garrison regiment. I repent not of the actions of my past life, be-

ing certain that my follies did but tend to make me a wiser and a better man. I believe in this you think like me: I am satisfied with the time present, and indifferent concerning that to come.

‘Should monarchs hereafter do you justice in any degree, fail not to write to me.

‘Your son Joseph under your guidance, possesses all the qualities necessary to become a great man; the conviction of this has given me much pleasure, and must to you be a subject of infinite satisfaction. Tell your respectable lady that I honor her, return her thanks for all her kindness, and congratulate the choice she made of a man who knew her worth. Yes, my friend, you are happy in a wife, and therefore must certainly have no cause to repent, to find yourself an inhabitant of this earth.

‘When I perceive I can no longer live, I will send you a last letter. It is your duty to remain here; you have children, those you must not desert. I know no other cause of regret for your sake, should not misfortune in future befall you.

‘Be under no concern relative to the expenses of my journey. I have the watch which you gave me, as well as the six guineas with which I was to have paid the taylor, and my feet still render me the same service they performed thirty years ago, when we travelled together through Poland.

‘Were we not even then much happier than princes, who are whirled luxuriously in coaches, through their desolated countries?

‘I leave you this journal of this singular expedition, which I preserved, that it might recal to your mind incidents well worthy of finding a place in the history of your life.

‘May you live in health and happiness; may you live distant from courts, and unembarrassed by public affairs, for the discharge of which you are but ill fitted, by your dauntless candor. They would but bring you into new troubles. Quit Aix-la-Chapelle also if you can; you are detested by the monks; hypocrites will never want occasion to injure you, and in your decline of life, will find the means to rob you of that repose you have so well deserved: God preserve you from their



venom. I tremble while I recollect this, acquainted and am with your daring spirit.

‘Let me intreat you to become somewhat more of an economist; let me intreat you to act less generously towards an ungrateful world; in fine, let me intreat you to become more prudent.

Should we see clearly, and think nobly, yet were it best to sigh, be silent, and wisely to enjoy: so act, and so shall nothing be wanting to your tranquility. Avoid Vienna. There those, who have illegally acquired, will illegally endeavour to maintain themselves in, the possession of your estates. The empress acts under the guidance of her priests from whom you can expect nothing but contempt and persecution.

‘Be the past to you a lesson, and a guide for the future. Hope nothing from unrelenting princes; risk nothing for the barren honor of rendering them service; let your future motto be, “I seek only virtue.”

‘We have almost run our race; we both soon alike shall cease to be, but we both know death, and shall march to meet him with a serene front. So long as I have life I shall be ready at all times, and on all occasions, as I ever have been, to part with that life in defence of your injured honor.

‘In this resolution, and impressed with the liveliest gratitude, this day departs one, who, to his last breath, will remain, your friend,

‘ALEXANDER SCHELL.’

I was exceedingly affected by this farewell, especially as I had no means of conveying to my friend, the money necessary to perform his journey. Some few days after, I was obliged to go to Vienna. While I was in Frankfort, I, by chance, met in the street the worthy Schell, who was there endeavouring to gain intelligence concerning his parents. We continued two days longer together, and I did every thing in my power to dissuade him from pursuing his journey, but in vain. It was with great difficulty I could prevail on him to accept twenty guineas, by the aid of which he might arrive, with somewhat less fatigue, at his place of destination. At length, we both took an eternal and last adieu, and parted.

About three weeks after I received the following letter from him at Vienna.

‘ Dear friend,

‘ At Frankfort you obliged me to accept twenty guineas, money which belonged to your children, and the depriving yourself of which, was most probably of great inconvenience. Somewhat, however, to recompense your benevolence, may you, virtuous man, participate the sensibility, the pleasure, the good, which accompanied these twenty guineas in the cottage of a poor peasant ! May the benedictions be verified, with which your name was pronounced by an old man of eighty two, almost expiring with hunger, in company with his wife and the remainder of his family ! Benedictions, uttered with eyes raised to heaven, when their long lost son, Schell, so unexpectedly entered their wretched cabin, and with him brought the means of aid and consolation !

‘ Oh, noble Trenck, that I could describe the scene such as it really was ; then, indeed, should you weep. During four and twenty years, my parents had never received any intelligence of me, and supposed me dead. I knew they had been ruined by a law-suit in the Imperial court, and I would not add to their misfortunes by informing them of my own.

‘ My father had discarded me from his heart, after having heard I had so lightly quitted the Prussian service ; after being told that my name was nailed up to the gallows at Glatz.

‘ My mother had wept, but the afflictions of her family, and the poverty of her other children, had effaced from her memory him, who she had formerly hoped would become the support of her house, and the prop of her old age.

‘ My eldest sister I found almost dying with hunger in her bed, where she had twelve years lain paralytic. The youngest was insane, and her distracted fits were sometimes so violent that she was obliged to be tied down.

‘ My eldest brother, who had obtained the rank of major in the Prussian service, was broken, because of my adventure at Glatz, and is at present a corporal in the service of Denmark, where he has taken another name. My formerly brave, and now ancient father, all in rags, and afflicted with the dropfy, was seated in

an old arm-chair ; and my aged mother of seventy was obliged to act as servant, nurse, and provider for the whole house.

‘ At the time when I arrived, several days had passed, and they had nothing better than dry bread for their food, waiting the end of the month. You have been informed that the prince, by whom they were ruined, granted them a pension of nine florins per month !\* for which they were obliged to pray for him, thank him, and tremble in his presence.

‘ They had no fire, and these poor old people were crouching close together half-naked, to keep each other warm. That very day they happened to mention their lost son ; they were exhorting each other patiently to endure their afflictions, and while thus suffering, I entered their hut, made myself known, and brought them aid.

‘ God of heaven ! where are the words that shall describe what I felt ?—Motionless I stood at beholding wretchedness like this—and dumb they were dumb also.

‘ I recovered, recollected I had guineas, and threw them on the table.—Is this money thy own, my son ? said my mother.—Yes mother, answered I, they were honorably acquired ; I bring them to yield you a momentary support.

‘ Surprise and joy flushed in every face ; my aged father bathed me with paternal tears, and my mother hung weeping round my neck. The poor paralytic intreated she might once again make a good meal, and her still more unfortunate sister leaped and capered, without knowing wherefore.

‘ After we had in some degree recovered our proper senses and I had briefly answered their inquiring questions, a fire was made, and meat was put down to roast. Yes, my friend, the family seated themselves round a table, that had not long been so loaded, and I had the pleasure to regale them with your money, to revive my parents, languishing in misery, and on the borders of the grave, and to change the paternal malediction into the sincerest blessings and prayers !

‘ To you am I indebted for this day of joy, the brightest, the happiest of my life ; for had I not had your mo-

\* *About twenty shillings.*

ney, I should never have returned to the house of my father.—'Tis true, also, I never should have been a spectator of wretchedness like theirs, and should have died reckless and indifferent. I now have an additional reason to live; I have parents to provide for, and they stand in need of provision. I will hasten to Alexandria, hasten to obtain money for their support, for now only do I begin to be reconciled to life.

'I shall not inform you in what place I found this most unfortunate family; you would deprive me of the satisfaction of labouring for them. I well know the benevolence of your heart, and I well know you have nothing you ought to give. Yet you shall be informed hereafter, and shall become my successor, in order that I may die untormented when I feel my end approach, and shall be no more able to afford them sustenance.

'I continued with them nine days, and three entire guineas were expended in making ourselves merry. Yesterday I left fifteen upon the table, with my watch and a letter, as I did when I took my leave of you at Aix-la-Chapelle, and thus avoided the too great pain of parting.

'Now march I on foot towards Alexandria, and certainly with more true courage than Alexander himself, when marching at the head of his victorious army towards Babylon. Never were guineas better expended, never employed to a more holy purpose, than those you gave me at Frankfort. Henceforward I have but one intention to fulfil, and this, I hope, will be fulfilled by the exertion of my talents at Alexandria. Money, my friend, is become a thing most precious, though my poor parents have learnt to vegetate on little.

'Live, my dear Trenck, live in content and health. If soon or late, you shall return to your native country, may you, after a tedious banishment, acquire wealth to render those you love happy. If ever you should wish to benefit the children of Waldau, recollect what I said to you in the forest near Hammer, when you would have taken vengeance on an unfeeling, or, perhaps, only a fearful brother-in-law. May the Almighty grant you this humane, this Christian consolati-

on. I hope hereafter your prospects will brighten, and I honor the philanthropy of your heart. Forget me not. I will write to you whenever I need your assistance; do you write to me only once a year, and let me know any fortunate event in the situation of your affairs. This letter will be sent from Ulm. I have written it in Switzerland, and a friend will put it into the post. May your virtues preserve you from new adversities, and may heaven or earth reward you for the past. As I have lived, so shall I die.

‘Your grateful, and most assuredly,  
‘Your very faithful friend,

‘ALEXANDER SCHELL,

*‘Secretary to the regiment of Soutter at Alexandria, in the service of the king of Sardinia.’*

Since this letter I received many others from him, all written in the same style. In one of the last he informed me that an old lady had bequeathed him effects to the value of an hundred and fifty ducats, by will. His joy at being able to send that sum to his parents, who were then living, was inexpressible.

After a silence of two years I received the following:

‘The dying Schell to his friend Trenck.

‘When this shall come to your hand, I shall be no more: my term of existence draws to a conclusion: never did man, dear friend, forsake this sublunary world with more tranquility, than I shall in a few hours, and after I have once more, with as much presence of mind as I am capable of, sent you this last testimony of living gratitude.

‘The last years of my life have passed undisturbed away; almost had I forgotten that the name of my family was Schell, having for forty years assumed that of Leich, and having without regret bidden adieu to all honorable titles.

‘I beheld you happy my friend, and I leave you in peace and content. My aged father and mother have been two years dead. I enjoyed the pleasure of procuring them necessaries, and even somewhat more, during their few latter days of life. My paralytic sister

died about six weeks ago, and the poor frantic girl knows not that she wants any thing, therefore wants nothing. She merrily lives in the mad house, and imagines herself to be the holy Rebecca.

‘The woman whom I loved has lately married a young husband : may he make her happy ! This is not a moment to indulge jealousy.

‘I am at this instant racked with the stone, add to which, I am in a consumption, and these together have rendered me a living skeleton. My physician has observed indubitable symptoms of my approaching end ; I myself am fully sensible of them, and in a few days, or in a few hours, shall cease to suffer.

‘I have now nothing to hope, and nothing to fear. Herein I send you the last tokens of a long and sincere friendship. My dying soul still will live in you, nor shall I be all dead, so long as you shall continue to live. My expiring wishes for your prosperity, transfix themselves to this paper—they take their flight from my brain like a dream at the moment of my dissolution. Live while you may, and hasten not, dear friend, to follow me.

“Horror, fame, and posterity, to me, are things wholly indifferent. I die unknown, and my name dies with me.—Beware of the prisons of Glatz, Magdeburg, and Spielberg ! Schell dies, and you will find a Schell no more.

“I leave no one behind me, who stands in need of your aid, or whom I am in duty bound to recommend to your benevolence ; no, my friend, I am no longer any thing to you : could I partake the sensibility of your heart, it would but occasion me fruitless regret, and disturb the repose of this last farewell.

“Repine not, weep not, rather laugh ; let the last moments of the crazy Schell be a subject of mirth ; he himself has laughed, on the world’s great theatre, beholding the deepest tragedies, laughing he quits the scene, and the curtain for ever falls.

“My senses are overpowered, they slumber ; my eyes are inclined to close, and my soul wishes for rest ; I soon shall sleep, and sleep without dreaming ; nor shall I ever rise from this to enjoy waking dreams.

.. ‘ Oh ! Trenck, my last thoughts are friendship, gratitude, and the most ardent prayers for your prosperity. So dies

‘ ALEXANDER, once SCHELL,  
‘ at present LESCH.

“ Alexandria, 24th of May, 1776.”

The very day I received this letter, I wrote to the regiment, and the answer sent back was that he “had been found dead in his bed the 26th of May, having written farewell letters to his colonel, and his friends, by all of whom he was sincerely regretted.”

*Apologies to others, and vindications of myself and honor concerning assertions contained in, and offences that have been taken at, my writings.*

NOT the fear of further displeasing the wicked and the vile ; not the dread of being still persecuted by sharpers, monks, pedants, intriguing courtiers, and paltry knaves : not the dread of illiberal and abortive criticism ; nor any, nor all of those, here give birth to apology or justification. I have more serious employment, that of at last enjoying content and ease ; of terminating a career of difficulties, chains, and punishment unparalleled, with glory. I will no more stand forth the rash opponent of ignorant millions. 'Tis honor sufficient for me, that the worthy, the virtuous, and the friends of men, have been my protectors. Had I, indeed, only injured this smaller part of society, the number of my enemies had not been so great, nor had they been so all-puissant : neither would they have been so base in artifice, so irreconcilable in hatred.— I shudder and start back from the precipice, when I contemplate the abyss, into which by rashness, or perhaps fortitude not to be shaken, I might have been headlong plunged.

The daggers of sharpers, gamblers, and monks, all were drawn. Those noble gentlemen, who, offended at my essay on true nobility, had not with their patent titles, purchased noble hearts, would have been glad I were dispatched. Heaven was promised from the pulpit, as the price of heretical blood. Heretic, be it said apart, is the epithet bestowed on those who dare

openly attack the avarice and ambition of priests.—The good old matrons prayed for my soul, as for one miserably consigned to perdition. The deceivers, and the deceived, together, cried—"Crucify him! Crucify him!"

Unsupported, among these high-born vulgar, long lived, good men approved and applauded my writings; but approbation was all. I will write no more.

Such being my resolution, I may here be considered as an expiring author, who, repentant sinner like, takes a mournful leave of the fraternity of reformers. Therefore do I stretch out my hand desirous of reconciliation with all who imagine themselves injured by the truth I have told, or who have been angered to behold themselves unmasked. I hope they will not be so cruel as to demand I should bestow flagellation on myself, because I erected myself a preacher of repentance, without having first studied under a Jesuit-mountainbank, in *forma Theologica*. As my irritability is well known, and as I never condescended to petition princes themselves twice for what I thought my due, be advised, good sirs, and pardon me quickly, or I shall perhaps quickly fall into my old vice, and defend myself, and truth, with all the fury of a desperado.

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My ridicule on the parchment titles of nobility, has so much offended many of our most serene Dons, that I expected some one, at least, among them would have mounted his Rosinant, and have defied me, detractor and caitiff vile, to mortal combat.

Fortunately for me, I was deceived. They, honorable gentlemen, leave hardy enterprise, and dire defence, to the sleeping bones of their ancestors. They can serve the state in night-caps, and morning-gowns, and his excellency, the lord high cook, can sagaciously issue orders that the hare shall be roasted, which his serene highness, the master of the hounds, has heroically vanquished.

Happy conferruce of wisdom in government! To you, ye scions of nobility, do all places of honor, profit, and power, descend, as is by right of birth, your due, Inherent ye are noble! To think and act nobly were superfluous. Why should you defend or instruct base burghers, or rascally hinds, who, most humbly, most



dutifully, are bounden to labour and starve, that you may sleep and fatten !

What rashness was it in me to write on honor ! I, alas, had forgotten that honor and honorable offices depend on the capricious, will of an arbitrary monarch, who alone is the fountain of honor, the judge of honor can confer ! Wherefore did I dream of merit, genius, or the native honor of the heart ? Fie on such ignorance ! Yes, ever honorable worthies, it is but just I humbly should crave forgiveness : I, who have written thus unwittingly, without permission from the powers that be ! But ye are avenged, and I am punished, No titles have I ; no ribbands, stars, or glorious badges. These, so gross was my conception, I supposed I might have had, and have remained an honest man !

I have attended at levees ; have waited in antechambers there have conversed with ancient officers, like me, attending also. Their cicatrized wounds were ineffectual pleaders. The spruce gentleman usher held their names unworthy to be pronounced in the royal ear. We discoursed on the best of all possible worlds, and iron tears stole down their manly cheeks. Reasoning with bitter conference as we stood, we have seen a sumptuous vehicle approach by six steeds, proudly champing drawn : before it were running footmen : behind, heydukes and merry Andrews ; and within—Yes ! His Excellency ! Stately stepped he forth, by slaves supported in the dangerous descent. The swarming crowd prostrate themselves. Yet, no grim Turk is he, but beardless seventeen. The buttons of his coat were each a diamond ; over his mighty shoulder no Gorgon shield was thrown, but gracefully the broad ribband hung. From his pocket pendent was a key—All wondered ; all asked—“ Who is he that approaches thus with cheek inflated ? ” Not Boreas, gentlemen—Nor Eurus—No—His highness ! His serene highness ! A prince ! A prince of the empire ! A knight of the order ! A chamberlain ! A privy counsellor ! The son of a—usurer ! A lord of eight millions ! Millions which he nobly expends, thus to become great ! Thus to be dignified ! Thus to be titled ! Great as he is now, what shall he be when of age !

For one so mighty, knowledge will be an incumbrance, and thought superfluous : therefore hath he

written to Rome, and Rome shall send him a father confessor, who shall relieve him of the labour of thinking. Padua too shall send him a buffoon with a black gown and tie-wig, who shall take especial care of his estate. Let others act—it is for him only to enjoy.

Parting from my honest veterans, home I went; described what I had seen—for I am afraid I shall never forsake old habits—but entreated the friends to whom I wrote, never to make my letter public. The world, alas! might doubt the sincerity of my reformation; nay, might call this my recantation, a satire, a libel! Heaven forbid, my friend! For God's sake tear, burn my letter!—His highness can pay referendaries, advocates, and curators, better than I. I may once again become mad—No, no! I will humbly petition.—I will not increase an evil I cannot cure.

To err is human; but obstinately to persist in error, were devilish—therefore pardon, pardon! I repent—I will be very good in future. My children shall not be taught to think—for I will provide them with an Abbe or an Ex-jesuit; and they shall be educated for highnesses and cardinals.

Yes, noble Zetto, Krondorf, Krugel, and ye other nobles, from A to Z, I deserve your mighty wrath—What! refuse to pay for your patents of nobility!—so well too as I knew your worth! I am justly punished.—God eternally forbid I should object to your high and noble dignities! I affirm, that you are more ignoble in nature than the rudest of the rabble!—I call you the pests of society!—Oh, no—no—no—no!—Though you are in the house of correction, you have noble successors; and I will write no libel by innuendo;—Heaven bless your worthy worships! May the mob bow down before your patent titles!—May your welfare be preferred to that of justice and the common weal!

And ye, noble ecclesiastics, whose all-dispensing power, in trafficking in indulgences, can purchase earthly titles till your heavenly shall be ripe—ye, who living luxuriously, yet are certain to die blessed! I hold it fit and safe here to promise you, I will daily repeat three Pater-nosters, and eke three Ave-Marias;—not desirous ye should read in my skeptical heart, all I think of

you.—I know ye peruse not such heretical writings, as teach the duties of the citizen and the man.

I ask not your prayers ;—for ah ! I too well know my poor soul has been consigned to perdition—I have even dared to doubt that ye are holy.

In my plan for the rectifying of abuses in the states of Austria, I was actuated by the purest and best of motives. I openly asserted what were the defects of the judges of the courts ; and all Vienna exclaimed against the rashness of my writings ; yet was it afterwards seen, they were not prophetic. Experience had taught me wisdom. To reform the abuses of the administration of justice, is even more dangerous than to reform those of religion. How may a private individual make the attempt, when the monarch himself—so multiplied, so rooted are these abuses—dare not ?

Such is the true state of affairs over which I sigh and draw the curtain. Sincerely do I pity those who need justice.

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I have written also concerning the invisible vassalage of Bohemia. Of this I cannot repent, although the angry monks have condemned my soul to some millions of years of burning in purgatory. But in purgatory I will be content to burn, certain of the prayers of all good men, for my speedy release. Till this vassalage of the mind is removed, never can the people know the rights of men. Pray, brethren, pray, that the fingers, with which I write this, may not be changed into a devil's claw—nay though you should be monks, pray—for I certainly should tear those unfortunate friars, who should fall into my talons, most unmercifully—and—with reverence be it spoken—your Lutheran devils are all as merciless as your Franciscan.

I have also in my letters from Spa been guilty of a crime more enormous than any the whole decalogue can afford—more heinous than the seven deadly sins collectively. I have said, that a gambler by profession could not possibly be an honest man ; and that, by fair deduction, neither could those who share his ill-gotten gains. Herein have I most grossly and abominably sinned against the holy Catholic Church ; as the Pha-

raoh table, for the godly plundering of strangers, is there publicly licensed by the bishop. Therefore, as a good Christian ought, do I most humbly supplicate the infallible priestly magistracy for forgiveness, wretched sinner as I am—I, who have publicly dared to doubt this infallibility! What, though I have written a notorious truth?—still, since this truth offends, I deserve, as their high mightinesses in their Christian charity affirm, to be everlastingly roasted. I had forgotten that they have power in heaven—and there they are saints:—I only remembered, that on earth they are rascals. I will write no more on the poisons of Liege, the intrigues of courtezans, the curses of play; but will enjoy some few days of rest on this side the grave. I will suppress the groans of a heart that has been rent, because it could not reform the follies and the vices of man.

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The Macedonian Hero is a poem, that, by the daring-ness with which it was written, might indeed well draw down the vengeance of tyranny. The consequences of my rashness have been bitter. Frederic acknowledged I had written truth; but Teresa demanded to know by whom I had been authorised to write truth. The poem was prohibited, but escaped burning. Honest men lamented the dastardliness of their fellow-slaves, who crouched, and basely aided the ravagers of the earth; while zealous republicans rejoiced. The world however seems to sink deeper than ever into the slough of slavery. We grovel in the dust, and offer up ineffectual prayers, that God would be pleased to preserve us from heroes and their rapacity. Alas! new Alexanders, Tamerlanes, and Frederics, shall arise, and shall find new coadjutors.

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I must further remark, that, through all my writings, there reigns a manifest and decided hatred against knavery, deceit, and superstition. In the country where I resided I beheld a herd—an army of priests wallowing in luxury, reigning with worse than despotic authority over the minds of all. What rational and thinking man but must shudder, must lament aloud, that such multitudes of God's creatures should be thus chained, rivetted in ignorance, by a host of idle impos-

tors, who are, or ought to be paid, to enlighten and instruct them in all the duties of men—but who on the contrary, live in pride and debauchery, suck their very blood, destroy moral virtues, fraternal and true Christian duties, and promise heaven to the most abandoned of villains, to profligates, cheats, and assassins.

O God! how dismal, how wretched is the prospect, where bigotry has the power and the will to kill all the seeds of natural reason! Yet this I beheld wherever the ruling prince was a churchman. This I beheld throughout the whole Austrian states. The spectacle made my heart weep blood. I beheld the Pope and all his armed legions, as omnipotent at Vienna, as at Rome. I beheld and wrote. Thoughts, friendly to the human race, instinctively flowed from my pen. I forgot my own safety, irritated the worst of passions in the worst of men:—and could I wonder, I had enemies?

Irreconcilable in hatred, a priest pursues the wretch, who has dared to discover his wickedness and frauds, through succeeding generations, till his name and race be rooted from the earth; nor ends here—but insatiable in revenge, after inflicting all earthly pangs, delivers him and his over to eternal tortures. This is what is properly called the vengeance of the ministers of the merciful God.

Instead of prohibiting the intermarriages and multiplication of Jews, princes would effectually serve the world, and diminish the blood-sucking swarm, were they to oblige every man to take the following oath before he were made a monk.

‘That the candidate for this state of sanctity is totally incapable of rendering service to his fellow-creatures—that he is unfit for soldier, mechanic, or husbandman—and that he is wholly destitute of powers, bodily or mental, to make himself useful to society.’

I have yet to apologize concerning the first part of this history, in which I have highly offended various species of wicked men.

Frederic the Great, who by the breath of his power, entailed misery upon me, who gave me sufficient cause to speak truth undisguisedly, will certainly in his now enlightened state, behold the moderate manner in which I have justified myself, with very different eyes to what he would had he while on earth perused it with

all the perversity of despotic obstinacy, and clouded by the prejudices of human weakness.

To the possessors of my Slavonian estates I wish good appetites at my board. They stole them not, but inherited them from fathers who were desirous of leaving heirs rich in land and poor in honor. One of these successors of my cousin was not long since confined in the Spielberg. The others are not happy. It is possible a time may come when my children shall say—"Begone! You have long enough enjoyed the Trenck estates: it is now our turn."—Happily I never yet begged an alms at my own door.

The honorable burghers of Dantzic who gave me up, and suffered me to be plundered, are dead; perhaps their successors may make reparation as far as is in their power. Weingarten and Abramson are dead also. I pity the hangman, who by some unaccountable chance, was robbed of his perquisites, for Weingarten died a natural death.

Jaschinsky is living. I forebore to visit him when at Konigsberg, for I would not remind him in his old age, of what must hang gloomy over his memory. He has my forgiveness. I cannot refrain, however, here relating how severe are the punishments of a bad conscience. When I arrived at Konigsberg, he lost his understanding, and became lunatic. The whole town was witness of this strange event. I have also fully discovered he was, as I discovered, the forger of the letter, which, in the year 1746, was the cause of my ruin. His motive was interest; he was indebted to me three hundred ducats. A part of my rich equipage the present general baron Posadowsky bought of Jaschinsky himself; and he further received a sum granted him by the king, that was deducted from my confiscated estates. He is still insane.

Now I am apologizing, it is but just I should intreat forgiveness of some few invisible persons whom I cannot but have offended; and first, the seraphic Father St. Francis. Pardon, holy Sir, for having rendered thy whole order contemptible. Who ever, like me, has beheld these odoriferous, though not sweet-scented seraphims, at their gluttonous tables, their wine barrels, their confessional chairs, will, if he be wise, pass on the other side of the way. Thee, holy Francis, I intreat to take them to thy own abodes; rob this unworthy world of such a godly crew; and suffer that,

fifty years hence, their names only be remembered. Thou best canst inform us how well pleased the Father of the world must be to hear such multitudes of herculean saints daily employ themselves, and importune his ear with the eternal repetition of Ave Maria ! Ave Maria ! Ave Maria !

What thou wilt say to that arch enemy of man, Satan, when he and his infernal adjutants shall come laden with the sins of thy seraphims, and insultingly, lay them at the foot-stool of divine justice, I know not. Neither can I say, when the heavenly host have, per contra, gathered together the good works of all thy tribe, what balance shall remain for the supererogation magazine established at Rome.

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From my guardian angel I entreat forgiveness, for all the trouble I have given him ; and it certainly has not been a little to guard a Trenck from dashing his foot against a stone, or his head against the axe of the holy inquisition. He has well fulfilled his duty, and deserves eternal rest, never more to undergo a task so arduous.

I doubt indeed he has been guilty of one gross oversight. He certainly permitted Satan to inspire me with the desire of taking up the pen, nay, afterward suffered him to guide my hand. Wherefore did he not like Luther, take up the ink-stand and throw it at his head ? I then should not have written so rashly against gamblers, monks, and despots. It may be, indeed, he endured a present evil, to secure a future good. Satan may have been outwitted.

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Of the Almighty (with serious awe and reverence I speak) I implore forgiveness, if, when under affliction too severe for man to support, I have doubted erroneously concerning the systems of men, which represent the great First Cause as a human creature, subject to the worst and weakest of human passions ; subject to anger, malice, revenge, ambition, vanity ! Let me hope if I did not possess sufficient understanding to discover truth, that shall not be imputed to me as a fault. Thou surely wilt not condemn me, because I am unable to believe, thou ever madest a creature that was predestined to eternal destruction.

Of wicked men I have asked mercy for having written so much against the evil of their ways. To thee,